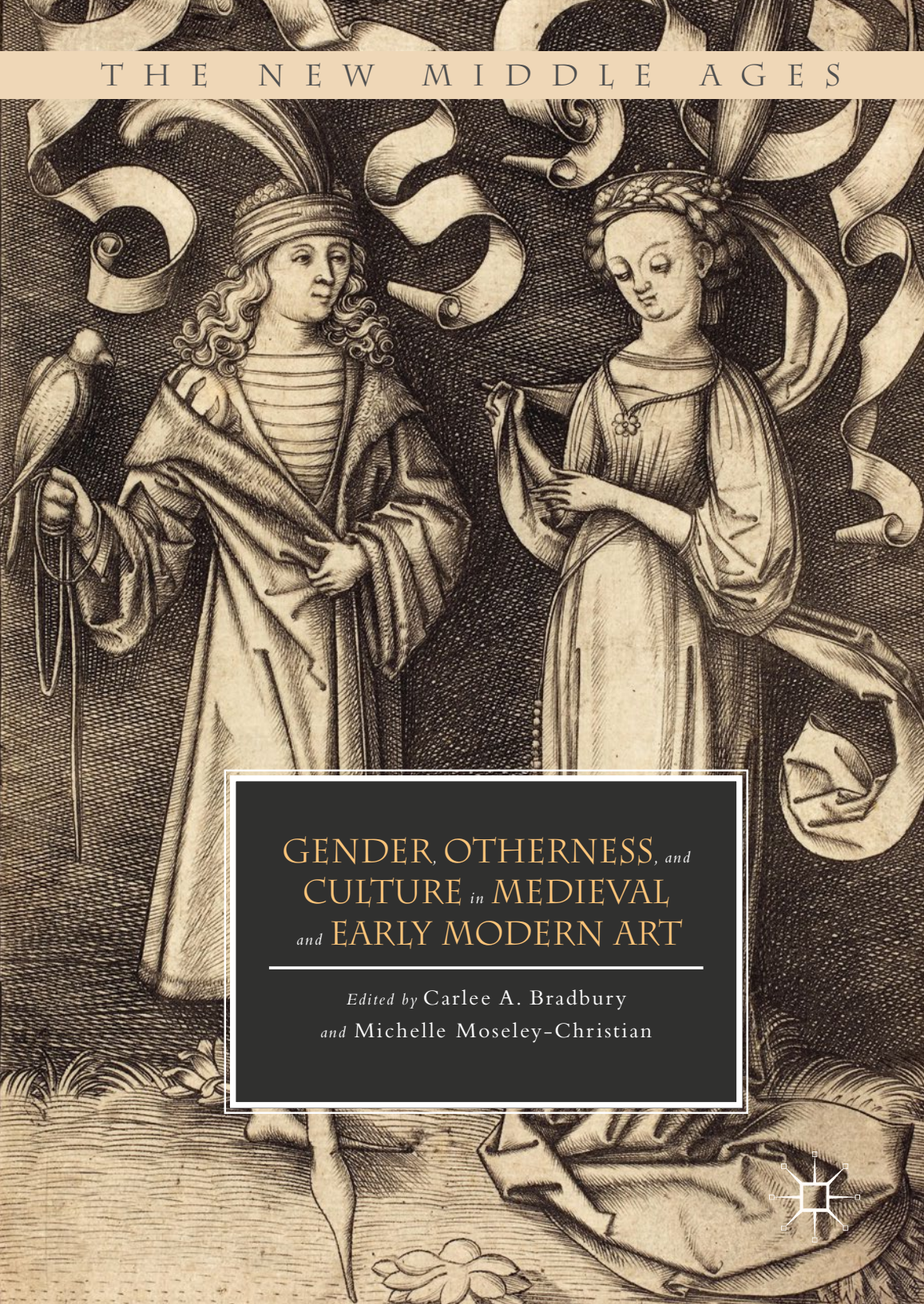
THE NEW MIDDLE AGES



GENDER, OTHERNESS, *and* CULTURE *in* MEDIEVAL *and* EARLY MODERN ART

Edited by Carlee A. Bradbury *and* Michelle Moseley-Christian

The New Middle Ages

Series Editor
Bonnie Wheeler
English & Medieval Studies
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, TX, USA

The New Middle Ages is a series dedicated to pluridisciplinary studies of medieval cultures, with particular emphasis on recuperating women's history and on feminist and gender analyses. This peer-reviewed series includes both scholarly monographs and essay collections.

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14239

Carlee A. Bradbury
Michelle Moseley-Christian
Editors

Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Carlee A. Bradbury
Department of Art
Radford University
Radford, VA, USA

Michelle Moseley-Christian
School of Visual Arts
Virginia Tech
Blacksburg, VA, USA

The New Middle Ages
ISBN 978-3-319-65048-7 ISBN 978-3-319-65049-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017950712

The image credit is: Artokoloro Quint Lox Limited/Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Preface

This project initially grew from a panel at the Southeastern College Art Association held in the fall of 2012 in Greensboro, North Carolina. The session was originally conceptualized as "Gender and Otherness in Medieval Art," but following response to a call for papers, it quickly expanded to embrace a related early modern scope of inquiry. The range of studies we encountered both at the conference and from the authors who later joined the project as it developed, underscored to us how rich and varied the scholarly terrain remained in terms of examining gender as a state of "otherness." Despite the continued scholarly interest in intersections of gender and otherness as fertile interpretive territory amongst the recent growth of other humanistic studies in this realm, there is a lacuna regarding gender and sex as a mode of difference using a material-focused approach.

Thus, we bring together a range of contributing authors who focus on close readings of medieval and early modern material and visual culture, alongside historical textual counterparts, as ways to facilitate a greater understanding of the varied nature of premodern masculinities and femininities. The diverse methodologies used in this volume speak to how scholars might unpack the meanings of various media—reliquaries, illuminated manuscripts, paintings, prints, and sculpture—by questioning the semiotic language of iconography, form, theme, and display as elements that contributed to the construction of material markers of culture, tracking the entangled intersections between makers, objects and audience with works that were made for a varied constellation of patrons or viewers.

The struggle to conform to, or confound, culturally prescribed identities has been explored in a number of recent volumes. Most contributions that address a range of ways in which difference is culturally articulated focus on an historical or literary approach that primarily interprets texts as the point of entry into a richer understanding of medieval and early modern culture. For example, the *Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* provides a series of critical structures that reveal how expansive, and necessary, gender has become as a framework for the study of premodern culture. Recent publications that investigate various aspects of social and cultural difference from other disciplinary angles, notably Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells' volume *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe*, as well as Cordelia Beattie and Kristen Fenton's volume *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages* take up the question of how social place and faith guides the formation of gender identity in personal reflection and in the make up of religious community. Likewise, Marianna G. Muraveya and Raisa Maria Toivo's collection *Gender In Late Medieval And Early Modern Europe* analyzes how social marginalization can exert a powerful influence on public expressions of gender.

Research in these areas has given a greater voice to the role of community acceptance and exclusion as critical forces in structuring various sacred and secular identities through the Middle Ages. By anchoring our study in the realm of the visual world, this volume aims to illuminate concepts of gender, difference, community, and self as indices of cultural ideology. In considering the role of the individual within the community, we encounter the slippages between shifting definitions of premodern subjectivities that scholars continue to debate. Ronald Ganze's "Medieval Sense of Self" adds a new dimension to the ongoing discussion of an early modern emergence of the "self," and the conscious "self-fashioning" of individual identity proposed by Stephen Greenblatt presents obstacles to theorizing the role of the "other" within scholarly frameworks. In taking a cue from these key questions that articulate gender and sex difference as one path by which the "other" is manifested, the essays follow trajectories of continuity and change, and trace established visual traditions as they cede territory to new, experimental ways of visually communicating gender and difference as modalities of otherness. While each author explores a particular facet of medieval or early modern visual culture, they collectively coalesce around each object's inherent

materiality to contribute to a new way of envisioning, constructing, or reinforcing premodern gendered identity.

The variety of visual evidence that is considered in the essays here argues for a rethinking of objects as signifiers of gender difference that made an imprint on social inclusions and exclusions, national identity, physical appearance, religious ideology, legal authority, poverty, and piety. That is to say, our approach to visual culture is not a study of objects as passive receptacles for cultural context, rather, non-verbal works can, and should, be comprehended as full participants in the constant negotiation and renegotiation of gender constructs over centuries of historical change. This essay collection in its parts and as a whole seeks to give authority to the material artifact by exploring the multiplicity of cultural reference points that intersect in the visual world.

Radford, Virginia, USA — Carlee A. Bradbury
Blacksburg, Virginia, USA — Michelle Moseley-Christian

Notes

1. The origin of the topic, and the pairing of gender and otherness, grew from thinking about the role of gender in terms of Cohen's seminal piece on "Monster Theory (Seven Theses)."
2. Poska, Couchman and McIver, eds., *Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*.
3. Smith and Wells, eds., *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe*. Beattie and Fenton, eds., *Intersections of Gender, Religion, and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*.
4. A global perspective on race, gender and religion as a framework for otherness from Baghdad to the British Isles is surveyed in the collected essays from Farmer and Pasternack, eds., *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*. Literary criticism has likewise probed the contours of gender and otherness in a more targeted fashion that has focused on concerns within specific national boundaries in medieval and early modern texts.
5. See Ganze, "The Medieval Sense of Self," 102–116, including his critique of Stephen Greenblatt's influential notion of *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Goffman's sociological work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* has influenced a number of early modern studies on the subject. See also Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* and Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity*.

6. See, for example, Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory*; Kapferer, ed., *Images of Power and the Power of Images: Control, Ownership and Public Space*, 1–8; For a discussion of "non-verbal" modes of communication, see Molyneaux, ed., *The Cultural Life of Images: Visual Representation in Archaeology*, 1–9.

Acknowledgements

This volume is the result of fruitful collaboration amongst a wide variety of people. We are so thankful to all of the contributors to this volume for their excellent essays and dedication to this project.

We are grateful for the helpful comments supplied by the anonymous reviewer. These insightful comments strengthened individual essays as well as the volume as a whole.

Working with Palgrave and the New Middle Ages Series has been a pleasure. In particular, Allie Bochicchio and Emily Janakiram have been extremely helpful. Bonnie Wheeler established such a pioneering Series and we are honored to be a part of it.

Our institutions, the College of Visual and Performing Arts at Radford University and the School of Visual Arts at Virginia Tech, have been quite supportive of this project through various resource allocations.

Contents

Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Carlee A. Bradbury is an Associate Professor in the Art Department at Radford University. She has published in *Norfolk Archaeology* and the *Medieval Feminist Forum*.

Michelle Moseley-Christian is an Associate Professor of Art History in the School of Visual Arts at Virginia Tech. She has published studies on gender and print culture in the early modern Netherlands in *Sixteenth Century Studies Journal*, *Word & Image*, *Home Cultures*, *Journal of Art Historiography*, along with essays in *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture, 1700–2010* (Ashgate, 2014) and *Mary Magdalene: Iconographical Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Brill, 2012). She is currently completing the final stages of a book length project on representations of the "wild woman" in northern European early modern visual and material culture.

Contributors

Marian Bleeke is Associate Professor of Art History and Chair of the Department of Art and Design at Cleveland State University. Her previous scholarship has appeared in the journals *Art History, Different Visions, Woman's Art Journal*, and *Studies in Iconography*. Her first book

Motherhood and Meaning in Medieval Sculpture: Representations from France, c. 1100–1500, is forthcoming from Boydell and Brewer.

John R. Decker is Chair, Department of the History of Art and Design at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, NY. He is a specialist in fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Northern European art and culture. His research interests include identity formation and performance, lay piety, monasticism, civic organizations, and the complex of intersections between individuals and social/religious institutions. He is the author of *The Technology of Salvation and the Art of Geertgen tot Sint Jans* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009) and co-editor of *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

Beth Fischer is a Ph.D. candidate in the department of art history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Holly Flora is Associate Professor of Art History at Tulane University. Her publications include *The Devout Belief of the Imagination: the Paris Meditationes Vitae Christi and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy*. She is a recent recipient of the Rome Prize (2010–2011) and a fellowship at Villa I Tatti (2015–2016).

Jessen Kelly is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Utah. She is currently completing a book manuscript on the material culture of games of chance in the early modern Netherlands.

Sherry C.M. Lindquist (Ph.D., Art History, Northwestern University) is Associate Professor, Western Illinois University and Dorothy Kayser Hohenberg Chair of Excellence in Art History at the University of Memphis, 2017–2018. She has published *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol* (Ashgate, 2008), and *Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art* (Ashgate, 2012), and edited special issues of journals on artistic identity (*Gesta*, 2002) and representations of female sexuality in medieval art (*Different Visions*, 2014). She has contributed articles to *Gesta, Studies in Iconography, Winterthur Portfolio, Different Visions* and numerous anthologies. She is co-curator, with Asa Mittman, of the exhibit *Medieval Monsters: Terrors, Aliens, and Wonders* at the Morgan Library and Museum, New York (2018) and the Cleveland Museum of Art (2019).

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Gender and Otherness in Medieval and Early Modern Art

Sherry C.M. Lindquist

According to the thirteenth-century theologian, Thomas Aquinas, the fact that there are different sexes is an issue of abnormality, of otherness, but otherness conceived by God. Since "male seed always tends toward the generation of male offspring, which is more perfect than the female," the conception of females "would be wholly outside the design of nature, as is the case with what we call monstrous births."[1] Irregular births, he contends, are influenced by celestial bodies, which are governed by divine providence.[2] This standard medieval explanation for sex difference has complicated consequences: the female body was accepted as inferior, unnatural, and "other," but still as part of the divine order.[3] As such, it provided medieval people with a useful and flexible device to think with, to discover one's relationship to the other and to the divine, and to parse the connection between body and soul.[4] Such medieval ideas about gender and otherness persisted into the early modern period and beyond, generating new contradictions and inconsistencies as they interacted with competing intellectual paradigms and shifting social and geopolitical realities.[5] European encounters with the other,

S.C.M. Lindquist (✉)
Western Illinois University, Macomb, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_1

including "other" social constructions of gender, accelerated in an age of increased travel, exploration, conquest and colonialism.[6] Constructing "otherness," whether based on gender or another category of difference such as religion, class, or ethnicity, pivots around basic binaries: male/female, self/other, us/them. Such simplistic, defining terms are at once so attractive and problematic in their reductiveness, that they must be constantly negotiated, reified, challenged and renegotiated. One powerful way to do so is through imagery and material culture.[7]

In the Middle Ages, rich, lasting visual traditions developed that reinforced conventional gender roles, but which also provided spaces for ambiguities and reversals.[8] The feminist concerns that fueled groundbreaking work on the history of women and visual culture led to a greater and ongoing understanding of how the visual operates in integrative, nuanced dynamics that define the social experience for everyone.[9] Since notions of gender, sex, and sexuality are intertwined, these visual traditions and experiments might also address sexual behaviors and desires.[10] Certain arresting visualizations—such as an image of the wound of Christ that evokes breastfeeding and/or resembles a vagina—drew effectiveness out of their startling deviation from the expected male/female binary.[11] In spite of the possibilities that such androgynous or hermaphroditic imagery might present, imagery most often worked to reinforce hegemonic structures.[12] Constructing women as "the other sex" lay the groundwork for the enduring subordination of women as the "other" or "second" sex, as eloquently described by Simon de Beauvoir centuries later.[13] Laura Mulvey and other feminist theorists have examined the complex operation involved for women in viewing cultural products that cast them as "other."[14] Related complications are addressed in the searching critiques of postcolonialist theory inaugurated by Edward Said's foundational work on Orientalism.[15] Our gendered identities are always part of a bigger synchronic and diachronic picture, a kaleidoscopic palimpsest that we cannot understand without investigating the historical layers beneath our own attitudes about difference.

Because as human beings we situate ourselves in relationship to many kinds of social classifications, we juggle multiple binaries. This is not a simple operation, and it is only relatively recently that scholars have begun to theorize its intricacies in a systematic way through the lens of intersectionality.[16] Originating in critical race theory formulated by the legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality addresses lacunae and inequities in contemporary feminism.[17] Intersectional approaches

thus originally focused on the contemporary world, especially on globalization and the legacy of slavery and colonialism.[18] Art and media historians recognize that investigating the relationships between the concerns of intersectional analysis and our image-saturated culture is part of the larger theoretical endeavor.[19] More and more, scholars of other eras are discovering that intersectionality promises new insights not only into the role that visual culture plays in constructing contemporary identities, but also in the historical formations on which our identities depend. In fact, the period in European history from around 1250 to 1650 is particularly rich in such visual experimentation and precedent—it was during this period that lay patrons and artists created an unprecedented volume of visual imagery.[20] Until the Council of Trent (1545–63), they did so with very little official regulation by the Church. This happened concurrently with the rise of the nation state, the expansion of an international economy, the invention of printing, and the Reformation, among other consequential developments that shifted ideas about individual and community with which notions of gender and otherness are inextricably bound. Postcolonialism and intersectionality offer heuristics that enable new questions about gendered identities, which prompt new insights into both the past and present.[21] Accordingly scholars of the later Middle Ages and Early Modern period are also beginning to address aspects of the intersection of gender, visual culture, and other categories such as religious identity,[22] race,[23] and class.[24] In spite of a growing number of studies, the scholarship on these expansive questions is in its infancy. Many more studies are needed that wrestle with the complex material products that encode multiple identities before we can formulate more conclusive theoretical and historical overviews. The essays in this volume contribute to this goal by exploring the intersections of gender with "other" intellectual, social, and geopolitical factors that shape the later medieval and early modern eras.

In the first essay of this volume, Beth Fischer offers an instance in which the female body is endowed with symbolic power by being presented as both inferior and monstrous; paradoxically, it could both destabilize the viewer's gender identity and reinforce gendered social inequalities. The subject of Fischer's investigation is a thirteenth-century reliquary of David, which substituted an antique cameo of Medusa for the face of the ancient Jewish king whose lust for Bathsheba led to the need for his famous repentance and rehabilitation. The resulting object attracts through its precious materials and craftsmanship even as it repels

the viewer with its discomfiting hybrid form. Viewers are asked to recognize themselves in David the sinner by confronting the terrifying consequences of the deadly sin of lust personified by Medusa's monstrous countenance. The promise of redemption offered both by the small-scaled Virgin and Child floating like a vision beneath the head of Medusa/David and by the unquantifiable power of the unseen relic within, encourage the viewer to identify at some level with this transgressive male/female amalgam. Even though the form of the reliquary exceeds the limits of a single sex, lust is still gendered female in the memorable conflation of Medusa and Bathsheba, which asserts the notion that women's bodies are the problem, the sinful "other" in antiquity, biblical times, and the historical present of the contemporary viewer.

Gender stereotypes activate presumptions about the religious "other" in medieval Christianity, as Carlee Bradbury demonstrates in her examination of English iconography of the anti-Semitic tale of the Jew of Bourges. In this story, a Jewish father, enraged after learning that his son attended a Christian Mass, throws the boy into a fiery oven. His wife's piteous cries attract Christian witnesses to the boy's miraculous rescue by the Virgin Mary. The grateful mother converts to Christianity, and the Christians throw the obdurate father into the flames. The submission expected of women in medieval Christian societies made the Jewess seem less threatening, more malleable and prone to conversion. Bradbury analyzes how artists used visual strategies to ally the boy and his mother with the Christians, and underscore their difference from the male Jew, who is emphasized as a menace to Christian values. The illuminations Bradbury studies, all made after the expulsion of the Jews from England, use the specter of the absent Jewish "other" to reinforce Christian authority to a Christian audience. As Bradbury points out, in personal books made for women, the Jewess is presented as an attractive figure for the female viewer to identify with, and she offers devout lessons for mothers. Books made for religious institutions, on the other hand, accentuate the roles of clerics and official witnesses. In both cases, the ideological power of the imagery rests in the contrast played up between sympathetic Christian figures and the caricatured male Jew, with the Jewess as a transitional figure. Both the Jew and the Jewess in the story personify Christian prejudices and fears in gendered ways: by constructing a monstrous male willing to murder his son, and women and children who need, and are prone to, conversion. These figments of the Christian imagination serve not only to buttress notions of Jewish

otherness, but also reinforce expectations of the submissive role of women in patriarchal structures.

If gendered ideas about the Jew in later medieval England were often constructed in the absence of actual Jews, gendered representations of the economically disenfranchised emerged rather from daily interactions with the needy. Holly Flora parses how medieval Christians' contradictory relationship to the poor intersects with gender in her study of representations of women and poverty in late medieval art. This subject is complicated by Christian notions of voluntary and involuntary poverty as well as deserving and undeserving recipients of charity. Wealthy noblewomen and high status women who voluntarily embraced poverty by taking orders are the protagonists who are normally represented distributing largesse. They are shown observing an implicit code of conduct that acknowledges how their sex and sexuality excludes them from institutions of power in medieval societies: they avoid direct contact with men and discharge their duties in institutional settings that give them the cover needed to approach the indigent of both sexes without suspicion. Aristocratic women are shown giving alms to the poor, particularly to women and children, in order to emphasize a female brand of pious virtue that helped to define women's limited roles in the public sphere. Representations of recipients of charity also construct the impoverished other in gendered ways. Deserving male recipients of charity are presented as disabled or diseased, with body parts exposed, to show they cannot work. Conversely, deserving women are not shown sick, which would be interpreted as an index of sexual sin: they are modestly dressed or veiled to indicate that they are poor widows and not prostitutes. Flora's study points us to the invisible other—in this case, poor single women, sick women, and sex workers who were considered outsiders to such a degree that they barely exist in the realms of visual depiction.

Another context in which women were relegated outside of the infrastructures of power was the law. Their exclusion from this realm of discourse and authority rests in gendered stereotypes: women were thought to be weak-minded and prone to error and deceit and therefore not reliable witnesses. The exclusion of half of the population from testifying in legal cases made it improbable, if not impossible, that official proceedings could result in justice. It is not surprising, therefore, that this uncomfortable reality would manifest itself in complex visual products such as Dieric Bouts's diptych, *The Justice of Otto III* (1470–75), commissioned for the city of Leuven's town hall. Jessen Kelly shows how the

choice of this unusual subject enabled Bouts both to justify the exclusion of women as witnesses by depicting the deceitful and lustful empress who causes the death of an innocent man, and to rectify the absence of female speech in medieval courts by permitting the virtuous widow to bear witness through her body via her miraculous endurance of an ordeal by fire. As Kelly points out, Bouts orchestrates the visual impact of the eloquently mute widow to draw attention to the artist's own authority in visual truth-telling. Kelly also makes us aware of the irony that even the less-than-attractive ordeal option for women that Bouts foregrounds as a functional alternative to women speaking in court had been long out of use by this time. By making sin and virtue legible in representations of female bodies, the panels implicitly justify the suppression of women's speech. The ostensible subject of justice served further offers a framework for addressing male anxieties and desires. Kelly demonstrates how visual elements of the painting convey complex messages about masculine identity: by delicately evading the fact that the emperor was (nearly) cuckolded; by highlighting the male artist's prowess; and by flattering contemporary aldermen, whose portraits were imposed on the emperor's wise advisors.

The role of painting for negotiating masculine identity in a civic context is also taken up in John Decker's exploration of the meaning of Durer's *Feast of the Rose Garland* (1506), made for German merchants living in Venice in the sixteenth century. Along with Jews, Turks and other foreigners living in the city, the Venetians segregated the expatriates and restricted their movements. Such constraints emphasized, by contrast, both the superior social position and the autonomy of male Venetian citizens. In fact, they were analogous to restrictions imposed on women in the republic, and the similarity had the potential to feminize the Germans. One way for the German men to stake out a place in the public sphere was to establish a confraternity, the *Scuola dei Tedeschi*, which allowed them to be visible in public processions on major feast days—an activity reserved to males. Durer's altarpiece was commissioned to be the focal point of the confraternity's communal worship. Decker considers how the particulars of the German community's internal conflicts, contradictions and ambitions were bound up with gendered identities, and this helps to account for aspects of the *Feast of the Rose Garland* that have not been fully explained. One way German merchants living in Venice mitigated the limitations of their outsider status was by accentuating shared notions of ideal Christian masculinity and insisting on the

repressive gender binary also endorsed by the Venetians. This allowed them to distinguish themselves not only from women, but also from non-Christian minorities in the city such as the Turks and Jews. Durer's painting played a role in theGerman merchants' attempts to claim a more equal footing with their Venetian trading partners. It also operated to reinforce the social divisions between them and other disenfranchised groups, implicitly denigrating the feminine and feminizing "other" foreigners in the city, with whom they competed.

The denigration of the feminine and the association of female with other is rationalized with the biblical story of Adam and Eve, a foundational tale of exile, in which the woman is to blame and punished with pain in childbirth. Genesis makes both female sexual desire and motherhood sites of otherness, even a monstrous otherness, considering the extent to which Eve is associated with the demonic snake. The monster often functions in societies to acknowledge and contain threats to dominant ideologies. We have seen that Beth Fischer's essay in this volume on Medusa explores the social implications of figuring female sexual desire as monster, and Marion Bleeke does so for the maternal body in her study of a series of female transi tombs in Renaissance France. As Bleeke makes us see, the extraordinary transi from the tomb of Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendome enhances the monstrous qualities of the corpse by merging signs of life and death in unsettling ways, even suggesting a macabre pregnancy. This figure enables an insight into how women in the late medieval and early modern period negotiated mixed social messages about pregnancy: as potential evidence of sin and female biological difference-interpreted-as-inferiority, and as a highly desired outcome at once perilous to women and necessary both to dynastic and human survival. When circumstances permitted high-status women to commission their own tombs, they could invest them with multiple purposes that ranged from self-expression to political maneuvering. Bleeke argues that one purpose of Catherine de Medici's self-commissioned tomb, for example, was to allow her to justify wielding power on behalf of her royal children. These potent objects reinforce gender binaries even at the moment of death, when gender distinctions might seem least relevant. They embody both the temporal and eternal; they activated and activate notions of otherness in ways that both disenfranchise women and enable the interrogation and transformation of stereotypes to the advantage of a female patron.

This volume ends with a meditation on another way in which female embodiment was stereotyped to signify otherness: the particular association of female flesh, of fat, with gluttony and lust. Michelle Moseley-Christian argues that these meanings coalesce in Rembrandt's *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* (c. 1629–31). She teases out the reasons why this naked woman—more than other substantial feminine figures by Rembrandt, Rubens and their followers—has been the subject of particular criticism for her girth. They are embedded in the figure's intervisual relationships with exemplars such as female personifications of the sin of gluttony, and images of the legendary race of subhuman wild women thought to have excessive sexual appetites. Rembrandt's robust nude looks directly outward with an insinuating smile and frank gaze, challenging the viewer to look at her fleshy body without the guidance of any overt moralizing signifiers. Negative reactions from its audience are evidence that the association between fat and sin was strong enough to make explicit didactics unnecessary. For certain contemporaneous viewers, the image repels because female flesh and sin were synonymous. Modern viewers, too, have been repelled by the image, but their reasons are likely more related to divergent ideals of beauty than preoccupation with sexual sin. Representations of female flesh that are not sufficiently regulated in accordance with social expectations thus register as "other" for both premodern and modern viewers.

In the medieval and Early Modern eras, as in our own time, gendered representations of bodies encompass, potentially, a host of contradictory meanings; it is because they are unstable signifiers that they have the power to destabilize the viewer, even across miles and centuries. This volume identifies myriad ways in which premodern artists dealt with the intersection of gender and otherness—whether consciously or unconsciously—by creating unexpected and monstrous hybrids; by fashioning strategically sympathetic renderings of the religious other; by carefully modelling the gendered conditions under which benefactors could help the marginalized; by papering over injustice in a gendered legal system; by picturing the dual operation of denigrating the feminine and feminizing the other; by drawing on the symbolic power of female otherness in order to reinforce a patrons' claim to political power; and by differentiating and moralizing the nature of female flesh. Interpretations of the works of art offered in this volume are not necessarily the primary or intended meanings for these works, nor are they the only possible

gendered readings, but they reveal, nevertheless, much about how gender and otherness coalesced in the visual culture of these eras.

All of the essays in this volume probe the complexity of shifting gender roles, an enterprise that is necessary, even urgent, because the putative alterity of the female body that is foundational in Christianity—and in many other cultures as well—sets up persistent male/female, insider/outsider, self/other binaries as default ideologies. It is because these binaries are inadequate to human experience that they require scaffolding: laws, liturgies, treatises, policies, proverbs, stories, and works of art. These cultural mechanisms, even though they typically reflect dominant ideologies, also inevitably betray contradictions. Sometimes these are constitutive contradictions: visible seams marking expected divisions, or necessary hinges painted over to disguise places of possible breach. If we examine closely such points of potential rupture, we can envisage cultural products from the perspective of diverse others, such as those subjected by dominant ideologies of gender. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and other postcolonialist thinkers have stressed, our scholarly attempts to recover the lost voices of repressed populations unavoidably result in echoes of our own utterances, and this only makes us complicit in further silencing the subaltern.[25] We may not be able to recover the subaltern voices of those who have gone missing in our histories, but we should listen for them anyway. Doing so is a worthwhile endeavor, as long as we are self-conscious of its imaginative element, as long as we realize that what we are doing is not restoring, somehow, what has been irretrievably lost, but rather contemplating the plausible and the possible, of investigating how cultures work in creating and maintaining dominant categories. Attempting to understand the gendered implications of the cultural products of other eras is a daunting task. We must employ a measure of what Karma Lochrie calls "epistemological humility," in order to avoid making unsupportable essentialist, transhistorical and universalizing presumptions about gender or the nature of the self.[26] We must respect the otherness of the premodern past without dismissing it as so radically other that we make ourselves incapable of learning from our encounters with it.

Notes

1. Thomas Aquinas, *De Veritate*, 245.
2. Thomas Aquinas, *De Veritate*, 918.

3. Elliott has written useful recent introductions to gender in Christian medieval thought, see her "Gender and the Christian Traditions," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, 21–35; and "Flesh and Spirit: The Female Body," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100-c. 1500*, 13–46. On notions of biological sex in the Middle Ages, see Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Natural Philosophy, and Culture*; For an in-depth treatment of the female body as monstrous, see Miller, *Medieval Monstrosity and the Female Body*.
4. The foundational work on the implication of gendered bodies in theological metaphors is by Bynum. Especially see her *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*; and *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. For an assessment of Bynum's work and discussion of later critiques, see Hollywood, "Feminist Studies," in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Spirituality*, 363–386 and 355–374.
5. For a lucid discussion of the relevance of theories of the "other" to the field of medieval art history, see Rowe, "Other," that is part of a special issue, *"Medieval Art History Today—Critical Terms"* in *Studies in Iconography* 131–144. For an exploration of the variety of gendered experiences in the later medieval/early modern period, see Cassidy-Welch and Sherlock, *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*.
6. There is a burgeoning literature on intercultural encounters in this period. For a recent study that explicitly addresses gender in these interactions with additional bibliography, see Wiesner, ed. *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*.
7. For an overview of the intersection of gender, otherness and material culture in the medieval and early modern periods, see French, 197–212. For a fascinating study of how female bodies were literally mapped onto changing views of the world, see Traub, 44–97.
8. For introductory discussions of gender and the art history of medieval and early modern art in Europe, see Lindquist, "Gender," *Studies in Iconography*, 113–130; and "The Iconography of Gender." For historiographic surveys, see Kurmann-Schwarz, 128–158; and Caviness, "Feminism, Gender Studies and Medieval Studies," 409–416.
9. Among many worthy books addressing gender and visual culture in the Middle Ages and early Modern period, see Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: the Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*; Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, and Identity*; Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Italy*; Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: the "Heroic" Tradition and its Alternatives*; Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages Sight, Spectacle,*

and Scopic Economy; Carroll and Stewart, *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*; Levy, *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*; Roush and Baskins, *The Medieval Marriage Scene: Prudence, Passion, Policy*; Hults, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe*; Voaden and Wolfthal, *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*; L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages*; Pearson, *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe: Gender, Agency, Identity*; McIver, *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage*; Martin, *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*; Sperling, *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations: Images, Rhetorics, Practices*; Hiller, *Gendered Perceptions of Florentine Last Supper Frescoes, c. 1350–1490*; Benay and Rafanelli, *Faith, Gender and the Senses in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art: Interpreting the Noli me tangere and Doubting Thomas*; Periti, *In the Courts of Religious Ladies: Art, Vision, and Pleasure in Italian Renaissance Convents.*

10. For an introduction to the issues involved in the intersection of gender, sexuality and premodern art, see Lindquist, "Visualizing Female Sexuality in Medieval Cultures," 1–24, and the other essays in this special issue of *Different Visions*. See also McClanan and Encarnación, *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*; Wolfthal, *In and Out of the Marital Bed: Seeing Sex in Renaissance Europe*. Mills, *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages* and Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History.*
11. On the wound of Christ as breast, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, 271–274. On the wound as vagina, see Lewis, 204–229; and Easton, 395–409. Compare this to Schultz's study on medieval romances, in which he observes that "bodies were not given a sexually specific morphology," xx.
12. For a discussion of the complexities of reading cultural products with and against the grain, as these practices have been theorized in literary criticism, see Bewes, 1–33. On the limited transgressive possibilities of hermaphroditic imagery that operated in otherwise conventional alchemical discourse, see DeVun, 193–218.
13. De Beauvoir, 23–38; For a historiographical treatment of gender theory and alterity, see Feldman, 168–182.
14. Mulvey, 6–18. For an assessment of Mulvey's impact, see Callahan, 1–9.
15. Said, 319–337.
16. Hancock, *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History.*

17. Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," 139–167; and Crenshaw, *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*.
18. Recent anthologies collecting works on intersectionality as a contemporary social theory—with additional bibliography—include Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*; Grzanka, *Intersectionality: a Foundations and Frontiers Reader*; and Lutz, Vivar, and Supik, *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*.
19. See, for example, Doyle and Jones, "Introduction: New Feminist Theories of Visual Culture," as well as the other essays in the special issue of *Signs* dedicated to this theme, 607–615. For an introduction to the issue in media studies, see Kosut, 335–345; and the fine group of essays in Hegde, *Circuits of Visibility: Gender and Transnational Media Cultures*.
20. Camille memorably referred to this development as an "image explosion," see his *The Gothic Idol*: *Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art*, 219.
21. For reflections on the relevance of postcolonial theory for medieval history and art history, see Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*; Holsinger, 195–227; and Overbey, 145–156.
22. See, among others, Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art from the Later Middle Ages*; Cohen, 305–312; Riegler and Baskin, 9–28. Eyni, "Purity and Impurity: The Naked Woman Bathing in Jewish and Christian Art," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Kogman-Appel and Meyer; Smith and Wells, *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe Gender, Power, Patronage, and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*; Epstein, 178–200; Eyni, "The Bared Breast in Medieval Ashkenazi Illumination: Cultural Connotations in a Heterogeneous Society," 1–39; Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*; Kogman-Appel, 525–564; Harris, "Love in the Land of Goshen: Haggadah, History, and the Making of British Library, MS Oriental 2737," 161–180; Lipton, 200–237; and Harris, "Making Room at the Table: Women, Passover, and the Sensory in the 'Sister Haggadah', London BL Ms Or 2884," 131–153. Thanks are due to Julie Harris for bibliographic suggestions.
23. See, for example, Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam*; Caviness, "From the Self-Invention of the Whiteman in the Thirteenth Century to The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly"; Caviness, "(Ex)changing Colors: Queens of Sheba and Black Madonnas," in *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.–14. Jahrhunderts: Produktion und Rezeption:*

Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Gasser, Freigang and Boerner, 553–570; Patton, 213–238.

24. Alexander, 89–110; Flora, 61–98; and Dimitrova, 85–125.
25. Spivak, 66–111.
26. Lochrie, xiv.

CHAPTER 2

Facing Medusa: A Thirteenth-Century Reliquary of King David

Beth Fischer

David Rex manu fortis aspectu desiderabilis ecce / stirps mea et sal(us) mu(n)di quam divinit(us) P(ro)ph(et)avi.
King David, strong of hand and desirable of look, behold / My offspring and the salvation of the world as was prophesied through God.
—Inscription on banner held in hands of figural reliquary in Basel Münsterschatz

Viewers of a late medieval reliquary in Basel's cathedral treasury were confronted with a seemingly irreconcilable contradiction: the reliquary is in the shape of the heroic King David, ancestor of Christ, but the face is a cameo of Medusa, the female monster who turned men to stone (Fig. 2.1).[1] In many ways, the reliquary is typical of the other small devotional objects made in the same Upper Rhein region in the late thirteenth century, constructed of gold and silver gilt and accented with gems.[2] The torso-length figure of David is mounted on a hexagonal base adorned by enamel portraits of prophets. The base, which was not added until the early fifteenth century, has a latched opening for the insertion of a relic.[3] There are no records of its original content, but it was most

B. Fischer (✉)
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_2

Fig. 2.1 *Gold reliquary figure of King David*, late 13th/early 14th century, Historisches Museum Basel, Inv. 1882.80.a

likely used as a container for the Eucharist.[4] David holds a banner that identifies him as the ancestor of Christ and the Virgin, with a small figurine of the Virgin and Child placed just above atop a cameo of a lion.

While David is a somewhat unusual subject for a reliquary, it is Medusa's presence that is particularly startling. With limited evidence for the reliquary's original setting and function, the gendered identities of David and Medusa must be the starting place to unveil the reliquary's arresting effect. The stark black and white of the late antique cameo interrupts the smooth gold of the reliquary, constructing a material confrontation that underscores a more potent opposition. King David's role as the virile ancestor of Christ is masked by the presence of a female monster. Medusa's monstrosity caused petrification and death, the opposite of the generative ideal represented by David as Christ's ancestor.

David's identity and his primary role as patriarch and ancestor is made clear through the banner in his hands. It declares, "David Rex manu fortis aspectu desiderabilis ecce / stirps mea et sal(us) mu(n)di quam divinit(us) P(ro)ph(et)avi," or roughly, "King David, strong of hand and desirable of

look (or face), behold / my offspring and savior of the world as was prophesied through God." This identification of David's "aspectu desiderabilis," or "desirable face/look," causes confusion, as the viewer is confronted with the face of Medusa. How can a pagan female monster provide the face of the ideal male king, ancestor of Christ and author of the Psalms?[5] How can the head of Medusa provide an appropriate external form for a relic?

In exploring these questions, the easy answer might be that the medieval viewer saw only an antique cameo, valued for its antiquity and presumed connection to sites like Rome. In this context, the visible prominence of the cameo would give an aura of authenticity and antiquity to the whole work. Dale Kinney has argued that carved gemstones were recognized in medieval cultures as antique, and their origins were often "mythologized" to highlight their connections to important people or moments, so that their use as spolia was not just about material value.[6] The association with authenticity was highlighted by the use of carved gemstones as seals,[7] and by the claims in medieval lapidaries that certain ancient stones could detect lies or poison.[8]

While the antiquity of the cameo may have been a factor in its use on the reliquary, the antique value could have been acknowledged by setting the cameo into another part of the reliquary. Most antique carved gems and cameos were placed on the backs, bases, or frames of reliquaries, rather than as the replacement for part of a figure.[9] There is a cameo of Medusa on the *Shrine of the Three Kings* (c. 1225) in Cologne, but the cameo is set at one edge, among other antique carved gems. This highlights its material form and minimizes its specific subject matter. Such placement at the edge of a reliquary would have been appropriate for Medusa, as monsters and the "other" are usually found in manuscript margins and on the boundaries and frontiers of spaces.[10] On the reliquary in Basel, the cameo of Medusa does not just adorn the reliquary in this sort peripheral ornamental role. Instead, the female monster's face displaces the position occupied by a male king.

Medusa was easily recognizable to medieval viewers, as she figured frequently in text and image, usually with the expectation that the story was already familiar to the audience so that the author or artist did not need to provide much detail.[11] Popular tales, literary manuscripts, and moralizing lessons often mentioned Medusa, and her face appeared in well-known illustrated copies of the *Aratea* and other astronomy textbooks, in calendar zodiacs, and a mix of other sources (Fig. 2.2).[12] While these images of Medusa vary considerably in the detail and angle of the head, the conventional iconography includes a disembodied head in frontal or three-quarter view, with

Fig. 2.2 *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*, fol. 49r, ca. 10th-mid 11th century, London, British Library, Harley MS 3595. Photo: © British Library Board

loose, wavy locks.[13] It was not unusual to incorporate pagan characters into Christian contexts, but in these images and texts Medusa was never the protagonist. It is her identity as monster, not her pagan background, that makes her presence in place of David's head shocking.[14]

I argue that the female face of Medusa and the masculine identity of David work to enable the reliquary's function as both an object of visual desire and as a warning against desiring things that appear lovely, thus enticing the viewer and then redirecting that desire to the relic rather than the reliquary. The reliquary equates the desire for its gold material with the lust exhibited by David and embodied by Medusa, reminding the viewer of his own sinful thoughts, and then providing a remedy in the form of the relic inside, in this case probably the Eucharist.

Redirecting the viewer from the container to its contents was critical in the functioning of any reliquary. While the Medusa solution seems to

be unique, medieval writers worried about the potential of a reliquary to elicit idolatry. Despite this, the concern was always that the image might become an idol, and the viewer would not make the necessary leap from admiring the visible reliquary to appreciating the relic's invisible spiritual value.[15] Sara Lipton has suggested that twelfth- and thirteenth-century sermons and exempla, used images to teach people to be wary about the visual appearance of artworks in addition to the familiar devotional and didactic roles these works were expected to serve, thus using the image itself to teach the potential pitfalls of imagery.[16] In a similar way, the reliquary uses images that highlight gender oppositions and the threat of monstrosity to direct the viewer's response from desire for worldly things to desire for Christ.

The unusual subject matter, the Old Testament king and the monstrous pagan woman, are not just quirky choices; they are calculated and are central to the reliquary's function. The reliquary has received minimal sustained attention and the role of Medusa has not been discussed, while David's role has been taken at face value as merely an ancestor of Christ.[17] It is critical to understand that, while the viewer would have recognized Medusa, the reliquary does not become Medusa instead of David. The face was not always the seat of identity in the central and late Middle Ages, and attributes and gestures were often more critical in establishing characters.[18] The reliquary goes to great lengths to assure the viewer through the *niello* banner and other attributes that this is indeed David, and despite changes and additions over several centuries, the cameo of Medusa was never moved or removed.[19] David remains the subject, but the face of Medusa draws the viewer's attention to the perils of desire that can entice even the kingly hero, equating the lust for women with the desire for the reliquary.

Both David and Medusa are pivotal in helping the viewer redirect from the visible reliquary to the hidden relic, and the way they play with medieval gender roles is critical in how the viewer would have interacted with the reliquary. In this model, David is not only the ancestor of Christ, but also a moral lesson of a man whose lust turned to repentance and love of God. Medusa forms the entry point to this system of enticement and deflection, as an embodiment of desire who made visible the way *luxuria* transformed a man into a monster, both dehumanized and emasculated. Medusa's face transforms the reliquary into a sort of monstrous monstrance. That is to say, she makes the power and efficacy of the hidden relic externally visible as a powerful object, while making

the reliquary itself appear undesirable through her form.[20] While a monstrance made its Eucharistic relic clearly visible, this reliquary serves a similar purpose in redirecting the viewer from material body to heavenly body.[21] Kathleen Biddick has pointed out that monsters and hybridity were a key part of the growing attention to the visible body of Christ as it was enacted in Corpus Christi festivals, which become more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These monstrous elements helped signal the Eucharistic host's position as a "relay point between religion and magic" as well as between other opposing pairs, not least purity/pollution and masculine/feminine.[22] In this understanding of religious practice surrounding the sacred body, Medusa's presence on the reliquary works with David's presence and the relic to heighten the supernatural effect of the relic and its container.

The Origins of the Reliquary

The reliquary of David is now in the Basel Museum, in the collection moved from the Basler Münsterschatz. It was probably made in the region immediately to the east, near Konstanz. The treasury records it coming into the collection as a gift of Johannes, doctor to the dukes of Austria (d. 1386), but there is no evidence yet that links it to a specific initial location.[23] The base addition that made the statue a reliquary, as well as some of the other attachments including the crown, were incorporated after it entered the Treasury. [24]

The figure of David is much smaller than the other reliquaries in the treasury at Basel, but it is mostly solid gold, suggesting that cost was not the motivation for its small size.[25] Instead, the size seems to have been designed precisely to fit the late antique sardonyx cameo of Medusa. Thus, while little is known about the original setting of the object, both David and Medusa were present from its creation.

Facing Medusa: Desire and the Monstrous Female

Medusa was well known in medieval Europe, but certain aspects of her classical identity were changed or emphasized to highlight facets of the story that were most congenial to medieval Christian concepts of gender and heroic behavior. The account of Medusa came from Books IV and V of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*[26] The beautiful woman was especially noted for her flowing hair. Neptune, overcome by lust, raped her in the

temple of Minerva. Blaming the victim for the desecration of her temple, Minerva punished Medusa by turning her locks into snakes. Medusa then horrified onlookers so much that men were turned to stone if they caught her gaze. By looking at Medusa's reflection in a shield rather than at her face, Perseus managed to cut off her head. At this point, he could use her petrifying gaze at will. This Ovidian text was known to medieval readers and frequently functioned as a source of inspiration for moralizing allegories and courtly romances.[27]

In medieval versions, themes of the gaze and the dismemberment of the body were common aspects of how Medusa's story was used, as they are now.[28] The need for Perseus to gain control of Medusa's body to control her power remained central, but one of the critical changes that medieval authors made was to present Medusa as equally beautiful after Poseidon's transformation, so that she presented the threat of erotic attraction, not just petrification, to Perseus.[29] This highlights the role that Medusa played as the embodiment of lust, so that Perseus' victory is not just over the petrifying monster, but also over the erotic woman.[30]

The popular fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé* drew on earlier stories and would have colored interpretations of Medusa on the reliquary.[31] The section on Medusa described her as "charnel delice," or carnal delight.[32] This was typical of the *Ovide moralisé*, which, according to Sarah Kay, treats women's bodies as simultaneously "the site of their lust and, given the 'heat' of their 'matter,' the explanation for it."[33] Medusa does not just show lust or elicit it; instead, she embodies it wholly. While the story does not explicitly fault her for enticing men, both her punishment and the petrification of her suitors are shown as appropriate results. Only Perseus escapes, avoiding and neutralizing the temptation by using his shield as a barrier against the desires of the eyes.

While such retellings often emphasize sexual desire, they usually do so in a context that equated the desire for women with the desire for material objects. Presenting Medusa on a golden object, in the form of a precious carved cameo of recognizable antiquity and thus obvious value, elides the distinction between her sexual attractiveness and the object's material value. In presenting Medusa and the female body as a type of temptation not unlike coveting wealth or property, the reliquary speaks particularly to the male audience that probably constituted the primary viewership.[34] Medusa's position on the reliquary does not simply remind the viewer of the perils of vice. She is implicitly compared to appropriate desire, which could be directed toward God.

This should not be a surprise, given the tendency for medieval texts to treat women's bodies as tools of procreation, possession, and objects of exchange.[35] This was especially true with regard to women's sexual identity, with virgins compared to fragile vessels and rape prosecuted as theft of the female body from its male owner.[36] Medusa's body presented the opportunity for a similar message. In the sixth century, Fulgentius wrote a commentary that recounted myths assumed to be already known to his audience.[37] Claiming that his readers already knew the versions in Lucan and Ovid, Fulgentius added details attributed to "Theonidus" that he felt required explication. This version identified Medusa and her sisters as the wealthy heiresses of a king. Medusa expanded this wealth through her development of husbandry. In this story, Perseus slays her because he covets her wealth, and her snakes are a metaphor for the "cunning" nature that enabled her to attain that wealth in the first place. While this makes Perseus seem thoroughly rotten to a modern reader, Fulgentius' audience is told that this behavior is appropriate as a result of Perseus' "manly courage." Perseus uses a mirror to conquer Medusa because "terror is reflected not only in the heart but also in the outward appearance."[38]

Medusa's snaky appearance becomes a sign of her lack of conformity to gender norms and Perseus' victory is a sign that he has properly restored the patriarchal hierarchy. Female power centers on sinful desire, so that when male actors regain control this becomes a victory over sin. Even in Fulgentius' version with its focus on covetousness rather than lust, vision plays a central role. Perseus must use the mirror to avoid being transformed by terror, and Medusa's name is glossed as "not seeing," *mē idousa*.[39] The blindness of desire betrays a lack of manly courage. In this case it is the desire for wealth, not sexual lust, which provokes Medusa's trouble.

The flexibility between the lust and covetousness continues in many iterations of the story. In the twelfth century, Bernardus Silvestris saw Perseus as the personification of virtue, who defeats Medusa as the embodiment of *luxuria*.[40] Arnulf of Orléans, writing a commentary on Lucan's *Pharsalia* provided a similar interpretation,[41] as did Honorius Augustodunensis' sermon for the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost, published in the widely circulated *Speculum Ecclesiae*.[42] *Luxuria*, in medieval interpretations, conflated sexual desire with desire for worldly goods.[43] Medusa represented evil and vice generally, but especially lust and covetousness, against which men must fight to save their souls. In

the thirteenth century, a 52-line section probably by Jean de Meun was added to the *Romance of the Rose* about Medusa and was copied in many manuscripts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[44] The narrator recounts the story of Medusa's power to turn onlookers to stone and tells of Perseus' victory. He then compares the female image over the entry of the Tower of Jealousy favorably to the head of Medusa, noting that at least the tower image could heal.[45] Sylvia Huot underscores the connection this story had to others in which desire led to petrification. Narcissus' desire makes him resemble a marble statue, or as the *Romance of the Rose* puts it, a "piere de mabre."[46] When Boccaccio wrote the *Genealogia deorum gentilium* in the fourteenth century, he had no difficulty equating Medusa's hair to worrying about material possessions, or "ordents sollicitudines curasque" (10:10–11).

The viewer of the reliquary in the Basel Treasury would also have seen this connection between lust and material desire on the main portal of Basel Cathedral, carved in the late thirteenth century. This portal includes figures of the devil as tempter and one of the foolish virgins, a pairing that had also been used on the façade of Strasbourg Cathedral around the same time. The virgin has begun to unclasp her dress, while the tempter appears—from the front—to be handsome and wealthy, as he holds a bag of money. However, on approaching the portal, the visitor saw snakes crawling along the tempter's back. Desire, once again conflating both material wealth and sexual attraction, is revealed as sin through the exposure of the tempter's monstrous body. Both reliquary and portal sculpture suggest similar transitions where the viewer first sees something desirable, then is warned away from trusting desirable appearances. The reliquary's shining precious metals would have been visible at a distance even in low light, but as with the portal sculpture, the viewer's approach would reveal the warning: in one case, the devil's snakes; in the other, Medusa's snake-framed stare.

As an image on a cameo, Medusa herself resembles the petrification she enacted on others, which was described in the *Metamorphoses* as making them into *simulacra*, an *imago*, or figures of *marmore*. Medusa's victims are not just turned to stone, they are turned to statues or marble images, resembling the reliquary in front of them. However, the viewer can treat Medusa's face on the reliquary as the reflection that allows him to avoid falling into the trap of her gaze. This would be not unlike the common depictions of virtues and vices on medieval portals, where the depiction of vice served not to give that vice power, but

to remind the viewer to be vigilant in resisting vice. By presenting the gleaming reliquary, but then visually connecting it to a story associated in particular with both carnal and pecuniary desire, the viewer is encouraged to redirect his desire for the form and value of the reliquary, to the reliquary's contents.

Relics and Amulets: The Power of Pieces

Medusa was a body that was powerful in pieces, a theme that was familiar to adherents of late medieval relic cults and the expanding feast of Corpus Christi with its focus on the sacrificial body. Before Medusa was controlled by Perseus, the power of her face was destructive, but afterward Perseus could use her head to rescue properly behaving virgins like Andromeda and win victories, reasserting his dominance and Medusa's position as a tool. This made Medusa akin to both a relic, in its fragmentary power, and to an amulet, as a non-Christian weapon that could be wielded to good ends.

Medusa's head bears a startling resemblance to the head reliquaries that were increasingly popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, since her head never fully coheres with the rest of the reliquary.[47] As Paula Gerson and Caroline Walker Bynum have shown, head and other body-part reliquaries emphasized the fragmented body inside, and part of their power came from this clear visual indication that they did not function by the rules of ordinary human bodies.[48] The fragmentation of bodies was critical to relics' function, as the brokenness of the body communicated that the saint was not solely on earth but was also acting from heaven.[49] Rather than showing the relic kept inside it, the body-part reliquary attested to the fragment's power by showing it as active through gaze or movement, making heads and arms especially popular.[50] While arms professed their power through movement or the potential for movement, the liveliness of a head reliquary was communicated through its gaze, like icons.[51] At Basel, head reliquaries seem to have been popular at the time the Medusa reliquary entered the treasury, so medieval viewers there would have easily been able to associate Medusa's head with these similar objects.[52]

A broken body, however, is not enough to make a relic, and certainly Medusa was not rehabilitated into a saint despite her presence in the same object as the fragmented body of Christ. What made Medusa different was that she was a monster, not a saint, and her decapitation

allowed Perseus to use her fragmented body as a weapon instead of giving her superhuman power.[53] Evidence suggests images of her severed head were frequently used as amulets.[54] The use of Medusa's disembodied head as an amulet emphasized the similarity between her body and relics, as it was the decapitated head that was used as an amulet, not an image of the gorgon as a whole body.[55] Both amulets and reliquaries evoked protection and miraculous intervention through rituals of prayer and touch, and could be used for protection in a variety of situations, which may have enhanced the popularity of including them on reliquaries.[56] Medieval viewers may have accepted a functional similarity between amulets and relics, seeing them not as equivalents but rather believing that amulets could help enhance the relic's power.

In this combination of potent relic fragments and amulets into reliquaries, the power of Medusa could be incorporated into Christian contexts. Perseus was able to deploy her power for his own purposes, taking the head that turned men to stone and using it against his enemies, so that the monstrous woman became a tool for good in the hands of a heroic male. The use of Medusa's head on the reliquary is thus in contrast with both the usual use of amulets on the edges of reliquaries, and the depiction of the stories of Perseus and Medusa, where Perseus wields Medusa's head as a weapon. In attaching Medusa's head to David's neck instead of Perseus' hand, the power of Medusa's gaze becomes the reliquary's animating force. While any amulet could give extra force to a reliquary, using a cameo of a head associated with Medusa's powerful female gaze creates an especially evocative reminder of the power of the fragmented body that transcended the gender of the body part. The fragmentation of both the Eucharistic host and Medusa increases the power of the object through its dual gaze.

David's Desire and Repentance

To see the cameo of Medusa only as a powerful fragment or amulet denies central aspects of how medieval stories described both Medusa and David. Medusa's association with desire suggests that David should also be read this way. While David is usually a model king and type of Christ, he was also associated with *luxuria*. In the context of the emphasis on Medusa's fragmented body, David reads as a figure made monstrous by desire and then saved by heartfelt repentance, both a warning and a model for the viewer. David was, after all, a man who had stolen

another man's "property" when he impregnated Bathsheba.[57] Augustine connected David's kingliness to his adulterous behavior, writing that David's transgressions showed that sin can reach even the greatest, and that David was at his most sinful when he was most powerful and secure.[58] For a mostly male audience, David could serve as a model for how a man could learn to resist the desire embodied by Medusa.

The connections between David and Medusa have been recognized, but most scholars have emphasized Perseus and Medusa as a typology for David and Goliath. Geerto Snijder and Arthur Milton Young both argued that such a typology helped Christianize the story's themes.[59] The stories of David/Goliath and Perseus/Medusa have easily recognizable similarities, and there is a distinct visual correspondence in images, with the young male hero carrying the head of the monster.[60] However, this association works only when David is presented heroically with his weapon and the enemy's head, as Perseus was shown with Medusa's. In the reliquary, though, Medusa's face replaces David's, creating a resemblance between the monstrous embodiment of desire and the king. This draws attention to David's lustful behavior, which was frequently depicted in popular images.[61] David's uncontrolled desire for Bathsheba and his monstrous behavior to obtain her was a popular moral tale. Depictions showed David spying on Bathsheba as she bathed, focusing on his sin in the moment he gazes with desire at a woman, and not solely his later actions to obtain her. A typical example is the so-called *St. Louis Psalter* from around 1260, which depicts David and Bathsheba in the upper part of the "B" of "Beatus vir," the opening of the first psalm. Bathsheba's naked body is fully exposed to the viewer, while David peeks out of an upper window in the background. Below, in the bottom part of the letter, David prays, already repentant.[62] Although I have found representations of this subject from as early as the beginning of the ninth century (as, for example, Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek Cod. bibl.fol. 23, fol. 64v), the subject of Bathsheba bathing achieved greater prominence in the thirteenth century and especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[63]

Frequently, these images of David spying on Bathsheba were used to introduce the Penitential Psalms in Books of Hours. David was thought to have written the Penitential Psalms in response to his own sins. By placing the scene of David desiring Bathsheba at the opening to the Penitential Psalms, it comes to stand for all of David's sins, but it also implicates the viewer in this sin as well. The psalm illuminations

Fig. 2.3 *Bathsheba Bathing*, fol. 71r, London, British Library, Harley MS 2863. Photo: © British Library Board

position Bathsheba alluringly in front of the viewer, enticing him to the same lustfulness and the same penance as David.[64] In a fifteenth-century Book of Hours (London, British Library MS Harley 2863), Bathsheba bathes, naked to the tops of her thighs and with her arms framing her torso (Fig. 2.3). She is in the foreground, while David is placed off to the side where his golden hair and crown cause him to blend into his castle, affording the viewer a frontal and unimpeded glimpse of Bathsheba's glowing white body. Some manuscripts place David so far in the background that the viewer is left almost alone with an unobstructed view of the naked woman. While many books of hours were owned by women, this one, which has the arms of Philippe de Commynes, and the *St. Louis Psalter*, were created for men. The image in Harley 2863 is even surrounded by shells from Philippe's coat of arms, emphasizing his personal relationship to the scene. As the viewer saw such an image, he would be reciting the Penitential Psalms himself, thus placing him in the position of the lustful and repentant David in both his gaze and his words. In a similar pattern of viewing, the reliquary incites desire and then encourages the viewer to turn away from his lust, reminding him of the consequences of desire through reference to Medusa. Both Medusa as the beautiful woman and the gold reliquary could induce *luxuria*, but only Medusa could be both desire and its punishment together.[65]

The reliquary also implicitly reminds the viewer of Bathsheba by highlighting the lineage that arose from their relationship. The banner on the front of the reliquary refers to David's descendant Christ as "stirps mea," thus highlighting not only Christ as "offspring," as it is often translated, but also emphasizing his lineage by using the term for stem or rootstock. Solomon, the child David and Bathsheba have after David's repentance, begins the lineage that produces both Mary and Christ. Matthew 1:6 emphasizes both parents in this ancestry, and even alludes to the initial sin, proclaiming, "And David the king begot Solomon, of her that had been the wife of Urias." While his virtuous offspring seem to redeem David's initial lust, both the biblical text and the reliquary require penance, keeping the sin at the forefront and reminding the viewer of his own lustful habits. David's visible transformation by lust, and the simultaneous reminder of the reward for his penance, suggest to the viewer both the danger posed by lust/desire and the potential for the relic—especially if it was Eucharistic—to save them from that sin.

Despite similar roles as objects of lust, Medusa and Bathsheba cannot be equated. Medusa is fundamentally monstrous in medieval

conceptions.[66] While it was expected that all women were an enticement to lust, Medusa is not generative. Lust for her cannot lead to procreation. Bathsheba, on the other hand, is a mostly passive object of lust whose sexuality is dangerous but controlled, and who fulfills her role as the vehicle for Christ's lineage. The slippage between the two in the reliquary works because the focus is on the desire aroused by the male gaze: Neptune's gaze led to Medusa's initial monstrosity, while Perseus was able to resist his own desire to look. David, however, is especially relevant to the medieval viewer because he first sins and then repents. In manuscripts, the reader encountered the image of David's sin and then the words of his repentance. In the reliquary, the viewer embodies David's lust, but when he approaches the reliquary, he sees David's face—and by extension his own—transformed into the monstrous embodiment of desire. The viewer and David both momentarily *become* Medusa, with their sin signaled by the elision of gender.[67] In showing their desire, they become a monstrous amalgam that is gendered female. The viewer has reason to believe that all will be well in the end because of the Eucharistic sacrifice inside the reliquary, but the focus on this moment underscores the dangerous presence of the object of desire before the viewer and the viewer's own uncertain victory over sin, which can only be accomplished when he turns from the reliquary to the relic within. As Hrabanus Maurus, an influential Carolingian author whose works were copied throughout the Middle Ages, warned, "Let no one be proud of his own state on account of David's fall, and also, let no one despair about his own downfall, on account of David's restoration."[68]

The reliquary does not rely solely on the viewer's familiarity with these stories to drive the viewer's turn away from a desire for earthly things. It calls out the theme of desire directly in the banner held by David. The naming works with the additional attributes like the crown and lion cameo to ensure that Medusa's identity remains subordinate to David's despite her central position. The epithet "aspectu desiderabilis" (desirable of look) and his command "ecce!" (behold) emphasize the desire and the gaze that are central to both Medusa's power and David's sin.

The phrase on the reliquary, "manu fortis et aspectu desiderabilis" (strong of hand and desirable of look), was first used by Augustine to interpret David as a prefiguration of Christ.[69] When David was presented as a strong and handsome king, there was no difficulty interpreting the phrase to refer to David's attractiveness. However, in this reliquary,

David bears Medusa's monstrous face, an "aspectu horribilis," instead. While the medieval Medusa was beautiful even after her transformation, her appearance cannot be considered "desirable" in the same way that David's handsome face or a gold reliquary could be. The phrase emphasizes that David's kingly appearance was corrupted by his desire for Bathsheba, a desire given form by Medusa's face in place of his. The face that desires cannot be a desirable face, just as Medusa's own horrific appearance arose from the corruption of lust.

David's banner indicates that the way to overcome this lust is through looking as well. "Ecce," he says, "Behold my offspring and the savior of the world!" In commanding the viewer to turn toward Christ, the viewer transfers desire from the reliquary to the relic and the salvation it promises: the Virgin and Child. Mary and Christ are set up as an alternative to David-Medusa, with Mary's proper enactment of her gender opposed to David's failure. Marian Bleeke's essay in this volume examines how the juxtaposition of opposites and the violation of boundaries creates the monstrous other, and the particular roles that women could play in both corporeal flesh and generative ideal. David and Medusa form one such monstrous opposition, but the ideal presented by the Virgin heightens their monstrosity. She presents the evidence of her role as mother as well as showing the route to salvation as the body she holds references the Eucharistic host within the reliquary.

The Reliquary's *Aspectu Desiderabilis*

While Medusa, David, and the Virgin enhance the process of redirection from reliquary to relic, all reliquaries had to redirect viewers somehow. The reliquary was essential in conveying the life of the relic, but could easily come to replace the same relic it activated: it could fail to function as a signifier of the divine and come to seem powerful in its own right.[70] Both the danger of idolatry and the danger of covetousness, which figured frequently in discussions of relics and reliquaries, were linked to sexual desire, a desire for physical form and earthly material.[71] However, rather than denying or preventing desire, this reliquary encourages it and then deflects it to Christ.

Connections between bad and good desire found in concerns about reliquaries appears in textual framings of desire. In the Bible, desirable objects and women are opposed to things that are good to desire. Psalm 18 explicitly juxtaposes heavenly and earthly things through the

function of desire, proclaiming that the justice of the Lord is "more to be desired than gold and many precious stones."[72] II Chronicles showed how something desirable might appear on the face, recording in the ninth chapter that "all the kings of the earth desired to see the face of Solomon, that they might hear the wisdom which God had given in his heart."[73] This line directly follows the enumeration of the gold and jewels and ivory given as tribute to Solomon, reserving the expression of desire for Solomon's wisdom and not his wealth, though the one is shown to elicit the other. Solomon's wisdom, his inner value, shows on his face, which thereby becomes desirable.

The role of precious material as an object of desire is critical for this interpretation, recognizing the allure of gold as akin to the desires of the flesh.[74] The David/Medusa reliquary would have functioned particularly well given Medusa's association with both sexual and material desire, but also because of the reliquary's other features. The reliquary is relatively small, and would not have been seen easily at a distance. In the dim light of the medieval treasury or chapel, the reliquary would glow faintly, an enticing gold shimmer visible at a distance but largely indistinct. As the viewer drew nearer, the white-on-black of the cameo resolved, neatly trapping the viewer by responding to his attraction to gold with the stony gaze of Medusa.[75] The reliquary provides Medusa with a body and denies the presence of Perseus, but the image maintains its sense of fragmentation as the body and the head never visually cohere.[76] The black background of the cameo makes the face seem to float within the golden hood, and the insistent differences of color and material refuse reconciliation.[77] This combination simultaneously emphasizes both the whole and the part, reminding the viewer of the relic through the form of the reliquary.

If allowed close inspection, the viewer had the opportunity to read the banner, take in the enamel portraits of the prophets, and most importantly, distinguish the gold bodies of the Virgin and Christ, who tend to blend into David's gold chest unless the viewer is very close. Caroline Walker Bynum has argued that the likely response of male viewers encountering the otherness of the holy would be "profound stillness."[78] Froma Zeitlin observed that Medusa always worked on males, not females; even when Medusa is around women, her gaze is reserved for men.[79] This stillness effectively emasculates the male viewer, making Medusa the controller of the gaze, but also showing the face of Medusa in the place where a male face was supposed to appear. According to

Bynum, such gender reversals were often seen as a sign that the man had become more Christlike, as Christ's adoption of human flesh from pure Word made him more feminine.[80] The viewer's embodiment of the role of David, and then his encounter with Medusa, prepared him for repentance and redemption.

The figures of Christ and the Virgin are closer to the viewer than Medusa's face but do not show up from as far away, so that when Christ becomes visible, this initial encounter with Medusa is already complete. In this third stage of interaction, Christ acts as a shield protecting the viewer from Medusa's gaze, ensuring that the viewer can detach from it.[81] Paul Binski has read the *viaticum*, the Eucharist given as part of the last rites, as both nourishment and shield for the journey to the afterlife, further suggesting the possibility that if the Eucharist was indeed contained in the relic, it too could be seen as a shield against Medusa's temptation.[82] The reliquary provided controlled temptation and just enough danger to allow the viewer to reject the sin of desire.[83]

For the reliquary to function correctly in creating this transfer of desire, the right balance had to be achieved between David and Medusa, and between desire and disgust. Additions to the reliquary in the generations after its creation indicate the need to calibrate this balance. The known additions to the reliquary from after its initial creation suggest that Medusa's deflecting role could have been too successful and limited David's function. The later additions, the Virgin and Christ, the lion cameo, and the crown, all emphasize David's eventual salvation. Without these additions, the viewer would have more difficulty seeing David through Medusa and recognizing his eventual salvation in the relic.[84] Instead, the message would stop with the warning against desire, not the redirection of desire.

The cameo of Medusa, as both amulet and as an image of a monstrous female, is critical in the functioning of the reliquary for a male viewer. 1 Corinthians 11:3 counseled, "The head of every man is Christ and the head of the woman is the man." In the reliquary, this is reversed, and Medusa takes over the head of David. The viewer, seeing David's sin as a model of his own desire, must recognize himself in David's transformed feminine visage. This inversion can only be rectified when the viewer, emulating David, turns away from his desire, renouncing the *luxuria* of both sex and wealth. When he does this, Medusa's face on the cameo functions as an amulet, deflecting the viewer's gaze to Christ. By

once again making Christ his "head," he can eliminate Medusa's hold and obtain salvation.

Notes

1. Historisches Museum Basel, inv. 1882.80.1.
2. See, for example, the other reliquaries in the Basel collection that were made in the region in Eggenberger, *Der Basler Münsterschatz*.
3. Eggenberger, *Die Basler Münsterschatz*, entry for Die goldene David, 41. The other details of the construction of this object and the accretion of additional parts can be found in Historisches Museum Basel, http://www.hmb.ch/sammlung/goldschmiedekunst/92653-goldenes-koenig-david-bild-aus-dem-basler-muensterschatz.html. This records that the original object was assembled around 1280, with the Madonna figurine added around 1320, and the enameled base and crown in the fifteenth century.
4. Wentzel, "Mittelalterliche Gemmen am Oberrhein," 49.
5. While David, of course, was not himself Christian, he was seen as a Christian type, a godly king whose authorship of the Psalms gave him a role in predicting the coming of Christ.
6. Kinney, "Ancient Gems in the Middle Ages: Riches and Ready-Mades."
7. Henig, "The Re-use and copying of ancient intaglios set in Medieval personal seals mainly found in England: an aspect of the Renaissance of the 12th century."
8. Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 31.
9. As, for example, on the Shrine of the Three Kings from Cologne, which integrates a cameo of Medusa in just such a peripheral way, or the famous "purse of St. Stephen" that was part of the Holy Roman Empire's crown jewels. For other examples of similar uses of such gemstones and cameos, see Bagnoli et al., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. I know of no other examples where a cameo replaces the face of another figure.
10. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, as well as Cohen, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," 6–8.
11. Ovid's stories were widely excerpted and used in variations that assume that their characters were already familiar to audiences. See Clark, "Introduction," *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, 15 and the examples in Smolak, "Ovid im 13. Jahrhundert: Zwischen Ablehnung und Bewunderung."
12. The best-known illustrated *Aratea* is the ninth-century manuscript in Leiden (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek MS VLQ 79), but there are at least ten other extant illuminated manuscripts from the ninth century alone in several different models. A resurgence of interest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought additional manuscript editions

accompanying the influx of astronomical texts newly translated from Arabic (including Madrid Biblioteca Nacionale MS 19, which combined multiple astronomy texts). This popularity continued through the early Renaissance. Dolan, *The Role of Illustrated Aratea Manuscripts in the Transmission of Astronomical Knowledge in the Middle Ages* (Ph.D. diss.), University of Pittsburgh, 2007. Other manuscripts depicting Medusa include an 1122 scientific textbook from Peterborough, England, now bound into British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C I (f. 22v), a copy of Lambert of St. Omer's *Liber Floridus* from c. 1460 (The Hague, KB 72 A 24, f. 74r), Raoul Lefèvre's *Recoeil des Histoires de Troyes* from c. 1470 (The Hague, KB 78 D 48, f. 56v), and manuscripts of Pseudo-Hyginus' *De Astronomia* like a German manuscript from the first half of the fourteenth century (Lyon Bibliothèque municipal PA ms. 45, 76r). Retellings of her story were widely circulated not just in extracts and commentaries on Ovid, but also by authors like Christine de Pizan.

13. Her appearance is consistent in these; for example, she frequently appears in an apotropaic form on the vaults of early Christian catacombs like those of Apronianus and Domitilla. In all of these, she has the same rounded face and curling hair as the cameo, though the snakes seem to have been optional. Other carved gems, like that now in the Dumbarton Oaks collection as object 54.47, are familiar but hard to track individually in records. One Greek psalter of the end of the tenth century shows Medusa's head as a personification of the Red Sea in an image accompanying Psalm 78 (London, British Library Add. 40731, fol 127r). Even a waterspout from the north tower of the Limburg Cathedral from roughly the time the reliquary was created, shows the head of Medusa, as does a relief on the twelfth century belltower at Modena.
14. Brown, "As Excrement to Sacrament: The Dissimulated Pagan Idol of Ste-Marie d'Oloron," 577. This was similar to how other pagan magical objects could be cleansed and sanctified for Christian use. As Gervase of Tillbury suggested in the late-twelfth-century *Otia Imperialia*, "it is not the stones or their engravings that accomplish these things … It is God, the supreme author of all that is, who accomplishes all these remedies through the words, the herbs, and the stones. An engraving is a sign of his power and is not powerful in itself." Gervase of Tillbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, 615–617. In the fourth century, Prudentius explained in *Contra Symmachus* that the images of pagan Rome could be transferred to Christian purposes. Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 74. Camille adds that in the thirteenth century, it was particularly common to "cleanse" pagan images through "allegorical reclassification." This "allegorical reclassification" allows the cameo's intrinsic power to be diverted to Christian purposes, while the nature of the allegory involved amplifies the message (and warning) of the reliquary.

15. Beginning at least with Augustine, there was a tradition of suggesting that the mind used things which were available to the senses as the source of knowledge, and had to proceed from there to the preferred spiritual sight. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*; Soskice, "Sight and Vision in Medieval Christian Thought."
16. Lipton, "The Vulgate of Experience – Preaching, Art, and the Material World."
17. There are few published mentions besides the museum catalog listing. Koeppe mentions it in passing in a discussion of premodern stone carving, where he describes the reliquary as "eccentric," noting that Medusa's "snakehead studded coiffure" can still make a "plausible King David." Koeppe, "Mysterious and Prized: Hardstones in Human History before the Renaissance," 10. One sixteenth century description of the reliquary misidentified the object as representing Saint Anne, suggesting that the cameo was certainly read as female even when not identified as Medusa. Reinhardt, *Der Basler Münsterschatz*: 27.
18. The classic studies on this subject are Belting's "Portrait and Memory" and "St. Luke's Images of the Virgin and the Concept of the Portrait" in *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Perkinson's *The Likeness of a King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* uses late medieval portraits of the kings of France to argue that portraits focused on making the sitter distinctive and memorable while still making a legible portrait, so that facial mimesis might have mattered less than other modes of conveying identity. Johannes Roll argued that gesture and position mattered more than the face in establishing identity through the end of the fifteenth century in Italian and Spanish tomb sculptures. Roll, "Do we affect fashion in the grave?"
19. We might perhaps speculate that growing interest in portraiture over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made the face more compelling to viewers, requiring the additions to maintain David's identity, but there is currently no evidence to support this possibility one way or the other.
20. Cohen has pointed out that the root of "monster" is also monstrare, to show, making a monstrance and a monster both something that reveals. Cohen, "Monster Culture," 4.
21. Monstrances grew enormously in popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reflecting a growing interest in visually interacting with the human Christ. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 206–208, 288; Chaganti, *The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary*, 108. The Basel Cathedral Treasury itself added five monstrances beginning in the 1330s and continuing through the sixteenth century.
22. Biddick, "Genders, Bodies, Borders," 409.

23. Austria Bundesministerium für Unterricht, *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, 418.
24. Inventory of the Basel Historisches Museum, "Goldenen König David des Basler Münsterschatzes."
25. The other reliquaries in the collection from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries range from 35 to 70 cm tall. Barth, *Erlesenes aus dem Basler Münsterschatz*. With the base, the reliquary measures 21.6 cm, and without it—thus as it would have been for its first two hundred years of existence—it measures 17.7 cm, making it less than half the height of the smallest of the other reliquaries. Many reliquaries were gold or silver gilt around a wooden core, which would have avoided the problem of the cost of the materials, including the famous reliquary of Ste. Foy in Conques and the reliquary of St. Just, as described in Montgomery, "Mittite capud meum."
26. Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book 4, lines 604–803; Book 5: lines 200–249.
27. Evidence for the continual effect of Ovid in medieval thought is seen in bestiaries, though Medusa also seems to have remained well-known from other sources. See the extensive discussions of such works in Keith and Rupp, *Metamorphosis: The Changing Face of Ovid in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, especially the editors' introduction and the article by Coulson.
28. Recent writings on Medusa are extensive, but among the most influential on these subjects are Cixious et al., "The Laugh of the Medusa"; Bowers, "Medusa and the Female Gaze"; and of course Freud, "Medusa's Head," originally published in 1922.
29. Leeming, *Medusa: In the Mirror of Time*, 35.
30. Regina James argues that this transformation made Medusa not just a sign of otherness in death, but a direct connection between sexual transgression and death. This "beautiful" Medusa head begins appearing in the fifth century. James, *Losing Our Heads: Beheadings in Literature and Culture*, 31.
31. Rita Copeland describes the additional source material for the Ovide Moralisé, including the editions of the *Roman de la Rose* and other works of Jean de Meun, as well as a variety of vernacular texts. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 107–125.
32. Heinrichs, *The Myths of Love*, 169.
33. Kay, "Women's body of knowledge," 214.
34. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 189–192. Bynum notes that miracle stories seem to show that men were more frequently cured at the site of a reliquary or shrine itself, while women were more often cured in or near home, perhaps suggesting that men's greater freedom to travel, especially alone, made them the more typical audience.

35. L'Hermite-Leclercq put this succinctly by saying that "women usually figure as direct objects" in medieval texts. L'Hermite-Leclercq, "The Feudal Order," 214. There were exceptions, and certainly the role of women was contextually variable and there was room for a less binary and bounded treatment of gender identity, but this attitude remained the most consistent. Bynum, "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages," *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 181 et seq.
36. Wogan-Browne, "Chaste bodies: frames and experiences," 25. For the legal situation, see Phillips, "Written on the Body," 129–137; Dunn, *Stolen Women in Medieval England*, 52; Ekholst, *A Punishment for Each Criminal*, 191.
37. Fulgentius, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 1.21.
38. Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 62.
39. Ogden, *Perseus*, 132.
40. Commentary on Aeneid 4.289, Silvestris, *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's "Aeneid,"* 69–70. His writing spread rapidly outside his initial circle, and has been cited as an inspiration for the works of Hildegard of Bingen, Chaucer, Nicholas of Cusa, and other writers well outside his French environment of Tours and Chartres. Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century*, 12.
41. Leeming, *Medusa*, 33.
42. Sanford, "Honorius and the Wheel of Fortune," 252.
43. The vice of luxury in medieval interpretation meant both sexual desire and the desire for worldly goods. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art,* 58.
44. This addition would follow line 20780 in Félix Lecoy's standard edition of the text. See Langlois, *Le roman de la Rose*, note to lines 20810–20811.
45. Huot, "The Medusa Interpolation in the Romance of the Rose," 870.
46. Huot, "The Medusa Interpolation in the Romance of the Rose," 866.
47. Cynthia Hahn says the largest cluster of head and arm reliquaries is from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints," 20.
48. Gerson and Bynum, "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages," 3–7. Body part reliquaries, also called "shaped reliquaries" or "speaking reliquaries," are in the form of body parts, usually arms or heads, but do not necessarily depict the same body part as the relic(s) within.
49. Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints," 28–29.
50. Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints," 20.
51. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," 631–655, also Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*. The silver head reliquary of Saint Pantalus had

arrived at Basel in 1270, while the head reliquaries of St. Thekla and St. Ursula were acquired in the fourteenth century. Reinhardt, *Der Basler Münsterschatz*, 18, 20–21.

53. Medieval discussions of the saintly body, especially the female body, focused on this idea of earthly fragmentation and heavenly reincorporation. Biddick, "Genders, Bodies, Borders," 410. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 221, 224.
54. Snijder, "Antique and Mediaeval Gems on Bookcovers at Utrecht," 14–15. In the context of reporting on copies of ancient gems used as a seals, Martin Henig records copies of carved images of Medusa used in this context due to increased international movement of such objects during and after the Crusades. Henig, "The Reuse and Copying of Ancient Intaglios set in Medieval Personal Seals," 28. Joan Evans cites examples of cameos of Medusa's head with protective Christian inscriptions added that were used as amulets, though the examples she gives are all before the eighth century. Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 26.
55. Sütterlin, "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism," 70–71. Sütterlin emphasizes that it was the beautiful Medusa who appears in these amulets, not the gorgoneion, as though the return to order created by her decapitation restored her beauty while leaving her powers intact.
56. Vikan notes that Medusa amulets seem to have been frequently used to protect the womb, at least in eastern contexts, and were sometimes paired with images of the Virgin Theotokos, and Spier claims that many amulets, including ones of Medusa and female demons, were brought from Byzantium in the wake of the Crusades. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," 77. Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and their Tradition," 33, 38. Magical carved stones were often given to churches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 113.
57. The story of David's sin is found in II Kings 11. Bathsheba was the beautiful wife of one of David's subjects, a soldier named Uriah. While Uriah was away fighting, David saw Bathsheba bathing and slept with her. She became pregnant. To hide his crime from Uriah, and to obtain Bathsheba for himself, David ensured that Uriah would be killed in battle. The prophet Nathan explained to David how he had displeased God, and that his punishment was the loss of his first child by Bathsheba (children, of course, could be property as women could). God rewarded David's repentance with another child, who became King Solomon and thus created the lineage that led to Christ.
58. Quoted and explained in Gosselin, *The King's Progress to Jerusalem*, 16. It is interesting in light of this interpretation that the crown was added to the reliquary at about the same time as the base compartment.

59. Young, *Legend Builders of the West*, 11–12; Snijder, *Antique and Medieval Gems*, 14–15.
60. We can compare illustrations of the constellation of Perseus in the *Aratea* to images of David and Goliath in the Pamplona picture bible (Amiens, Bibliothèque de la Ville 108) made in 1197, for example.
61. John Fleminger notes that both David's sexuality and his fertility are emphasized in books from the Middle Ages into the early modern period. Fleminger, *Behind the Eyes of David*, 5–6.
62. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 300, illustrated in Cockerell, *A Psalter and Hours Executed Before 1270*, plate 7.
63. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours," 210.
64. Many books of hours were owned by women, and it is intriguing to think about the changes in the interpretation of this scene for women. However, the message would have been as critical for female viewers as male ones, though they might have been more likely to be encouraged to identify with Bathsheba as a model for how a woman might, through negligence, lead men astray. Holly Flora's article in this volume notes the pressure on women to avoid not only carnal behavior, but also the appearance of improper relations with men, and Bathsheba's open stance and the sense that she is not in an entirely hidden place contrast with representations of Susanna. Susanna was depicted less frequently, but images like the Lothar Crystal show her in a private enclosed garden, fully clad. She is also fully clad, but with her hair down, in the same scene in a thirteenth-century German prayer book, Morgan Library M. 739 fol. 18v.
65. Cohen points out that monsters provide both an opportunity for sexual transgression and a warning or control of the boundaries of appropriate behavior. Cohen, "Monster Culture," 16–17.
66. Indeed, while Medusa usually remained visibly human (and female) in illuminations, the illuminated edition of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othéa* depict her as completely transformed into a monster (as in the c. 1460 manuscript Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 49, f. 84r). Christine's version emphasized that it was Medusa's beauty that transfixed men, redeeming Medusa from personal fault. Rosalind Brown-Grant emphasizes Christine's shift of Medusa from woman into object of abhorrence in such a way that Medusa's terrifying nature is disconnected from her femininity. Such a shift does not happen with the reliquary, or indeed, with most late medieval interpretations of the story, but it shows that Medusa's monstrosity was fundamental, even to those who sought to redeem her. Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defense of Women: Reading Beyond Gender*, 85.
67. This doubling of monstrosity through the addition of gendered identities is comparable to Carlee Bradbury's examination of how the images of the

Jewish woman prioritized her femininity and elided her religion, enhancing the Jewish man's alterity so that his masculine features become part of the iconography of Jewish otherness. Here, though, it is David's incorporation of feminine attributes that creates the monster.

68. Quoted in Boynton and Reilly, *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 162.
69. Gosselin, *The King's Progress to Jerusalem*, 14. Gosselin explores Augustine's varied glosses on David's name, all of which are said to point to Christ.
70. Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages*, 82. This fear was expressed both in direct relation to the use of reliquaries, as in Bernard's description of the cult of Sainte Foy and in the approach to idols. Idols were seen as precious statues that pagans mistakenly worshipped for their material value. Idols were never seen as ineffective, rather, they were demonic, able to bewitch the viewer through his eyes. Dahl, "Heavenly Images." Brown, "As Excrement to Sacrament," 577.
72. Psalm 18:10–11: "The fear of the Lord is holy, enduring forever and ever: the judgments of the Lord are true, justified in themselves. More to be desired than gold and many precious stones: and sweeter than honeycomb." *Timor Domini sanctus, permanens in saeculum saeculi; judicia Domini vera, justificata in semetipsa. Desiderabilia super aurum et lapidem pretiosum multim; et dulciora super mel et favum.*
73. II Chronicles 9:23: *Omnesque reges terrarum desiderabant videre faciem Salomonis, ut audirent sapientiam, quam dederat Deus in corde ejus.*
74. Luxuria as a sin was associated both with sexual desire and material greed in both texts and images, especially Prudentius' *Psychomachia*. Not only was Luxuria itself both of these kinds of unrestrained desire, and often shown as a woman holding precious objects or luxury goods, but Luxuria was often paired in images with Avaricia. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval* Art, 1–20.
75. While I cannot prove that the cameo's material is anything more than a coincidence, an additional meaning might have adhered due to interpretations of sardonyx in influential lapidaries like that of Marbode of Rennes. His *de Lapidus*, like others of the same period, claimed that sardonyx allowed a man to sleep without dreaming and did away with vice. Medusa's form incited lust, but the material of this carving provided a remedy. Riddle, *Marbode of Rennes' 'de lapidus'*, 46–47.
76. This was very atypical for a medieval reliquary. While they frequently incorporated visually separate elements like carved gems as adornments, when disparate objects were connected to form a figure, they were united with a surface treatment. The reliquary of Ste. Foy at Conques unites her

late antique face with her medieval body by covering the whole in gold leaf. While the styles are different, the surface treatment ensures that the reliquary reads as a single figure.

77. Cohen points out that monsters are always hybrids that refuse to fit into established categories, thereby destabilizing order. Cohen, "Monster Culture," 6–7.
78. Caroline Walker Bynum has noted this stillness as a particular function of the medieval male experience of the divine, a gender distinction in which the presence of the sacred "throws the men into a profound stillness" while it is described as heightening women's experience with a "sensuality beyond words." She later notes that males were more often cured by prayer at the site of reliquaries, while female cures tended to happen at a distance, rather than in the visual field of the relic. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 192.
79. James, "Losing Our Heads," 30.
80. Bynum has argued that men used this type of role reversal, taking on aspects of femininity, as a sign of their efforts to become more Christlike, as Christ's adoption of flesh made him more like women. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 171.
81. Christ, of course, could actually be seen as a shield. In the *Ancrene Wisse*, the knight's shield represents Christ's body in a meditation on the passion, leading into a discussion of the superiority of Christ's love over earthly love. Innes-Parker, "The lady and the king," 509–522. In this context, it is interesting to speculate on the likely additional interpretations that might have adhered to this object through now lost popular stories and meditations.
82. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 147.
83. Holly Flora makes a similar argument in noting that giving away money to become poor was more virtuous than merely being poor; likewise, resisting temptation provided an opportunity for victory over sin. Holly Flora, "Gender and Poverty in Late Medieval Art," this volume.
84. While the representation of Medusa is quite typical and recognizable, David is missing his most common attributes, so the viewer must rely on the banner, especially before the crown and lion were added. Most image types representing David, and the types that appear most frequently, included his lyre or harp and his crown, while the lion of Judah occasionally appeared. Hourihane, *King David in the Index of Christian Art*, xix, xxiii. It would have been very difficult, and visually distracting, to provide David with a lyre in this composition.

CHAPTER 3

Picturing Maternal Anxiety in the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges

Carlee A. Bradbury

It is a vast understatement to say that any mother would be troubled in mind and choked with distress at the sight of harm to her children. Medieval artists played on this natural instinct of maternal anxiety to strengthen the roots of pictorial anti-Semitism that was rampant in late medieval English art. Picturing the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges, allowed artists to create an ultimate other in the form of the Jewish father. While reading the images of this loaded tale, audiences could find a sympathetic figure in the form of the Jewish mother. According to the text of the miracle, the Virgin Mary saves a young Jewish boy from Bourges after his father throws him into a fiery oven upon learning he attended a Christian mass. Though representations of this miracle appear in a variety of media, late medieval books of hours and illustrated miracle texts from England hold the most complex examples.

An earlier version of this paper appears in the *Medieval Feminist Forum* 47, no. 2 (2012): 34–56.

C.A. Bradbury (✉)
Radford University, Radford, VA, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_3

Fig. 3.1 The Miracle of the Jew of Bourges, fol. 203v, *The Bohun Hours*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.4. Photo: © The Bodleian Library, The University of Oxford

Artists frequently visualized the boy's father, the Jew of Bourges, using the full vocabulary of medieval anti-Semitism. For example, in an image from the late fourteenth century *Bohun Hours*, the Jewish father is hunched over, his face, shown in profile, dominated by a sharply hooked nose (Fig. 3.1).[1] Using both his appearance and the act of violence against his son, artists could vilify this father figure through purely

visual devices. The Jew of Bourges belongs to a widespread tradition of visualizing medieval Christians' irrational yet pervasive fears of Jews in terms of a singular or group of male figures, found in a variety of media and in subjects ranging from traditional Passion imagery, where hordes of male Jews seethe with violence, to unique marginal grotesques.[2]

These exaggerated and imaginary figures are visual counterparts to what Jeremy Cohen identified as "hermeneutical Jews;" Cohen suggested that Christians responded to Jews and Judaism by creating their own unique Jews whom they used to define their own collective beliefs and identity.[3] These figures existed in English imaginations long before, and remained after, the real population of Jews was expelled from the country in 1290.[4] Cohen examined how real, living Jews operated in contrast to a Jew who is "hermeneutically and doctrinally crafted" and derives from a "theological agenda" which changed over time.[5] This theologically defined and continually mutating figure met and became part of a larger Christian mentality that ultimately fostered what R.I. Moore called a "persecuting society" that sought to create and propagate the Jew as a necessary other.[6] The Jew in medieval imaginations was malleable, yet inherently male, and a perfect other to counter the ideal Christian.

The Jewish Boy's Mother—A Pivotal Character

Artists had many choices to make when illustrating the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges. For instance, in another image of the miracle, from the *Hours of Mary de Bohun*, the artist adds an extra scene that includes the boy's mother (Fig. 3.2).[7] In the center of the image, a crowd of figures acts as a bridge from the instance where the boy takes communion to the moment when the Jew of Bourges puts his son into the oven. A woman stands in the front of the crowd and points anxiously to both scenes. She is the boy's mother and though she appears briefly in only a few of the miracle texts, her role is pivotal in the narrative of the story; she breaks with her family and religion to try to save her son.

A handful of images of this miracle include the boy's mother, and in each, the violence of the tale is interpreted and illustrated through her reaction to it. Investigating the visual power of the boy's mother in late medieval manuscript images provides us with an opportunity to question the visualization and uses of the non-biblical Jewish woman in medieval art. Through analysis of four key examples from English books of

hours and illustrated miracle texts, it will become apparent that both female and male audiences could read the Jewish mother as a new type of anti-Semitic visual device. She is a woman whose role of mother ultimately exceeds and overwhelms her identity as a Jew, her spiritual fluidity furthering the visual alienation and othering of her husband. Artists engineered and employed this Jewish mother to complicate the existing visual vocabulary of anti-Semitism by creating a complementary, inherently female character whose visual normalcy and accessibility to Christian audiences further defined the male Jew as an immutable, almost inhuman, monster.

Books for Mary de Bohun

The Bohun images provide the opportunity to examine the dramatic impact of the Jewish mother as well as the mechanics of key miracle texts, all within the frame of two manuscripts made for the same reader, Mary de Bohun. Both of Mary's books of hours were made sometime around 1380 by artists working for the Bohun family at their main residence in or near Pleshey Castle in Essex. The leading authority on the Bohun manuscripts, Lucy Freeman Sandler, has outlined the intricate relationship the Bohun family had with manuscripts that were made by family sponsored artists for their own consumption.[8] The Bohun family was extremely savvy in the production of manuscripts for their own use. Both of Mary's books of hours were likely made to mark the occasion of her wedding, at Rochford Hall, Essex, in 1380/1 to Henry of Bolingbroke.[9] According to Froissart, the marriage was immediately consummated to ensure that Henry gained a portion of the substantial inheritance.[10] The initial union produced a son who died at birth in April 1382.[11] Subsequently, the couple lived apart and Mary was sent back home to Pleshey Castle to live with her mother Joan Fitzalan until she turned fourteen in 1383/4.[12]

Situated in the Essex countryside, Pleshey Castle is just southwest of Braintree and about twenty miles west of Colchester. There is no record of a significant Jewish population in medieval Pleshey or Braintree. There was, however, a Jewish community in Colchester.[13] The most specific information about the Colchester Jews involves the 1277 incident where a group of Christians and Jews, including Aaron, son of Leo, were charged for chasing a deer through town.[14] It is

extremely unlikely that any of the Bohuns living in the late thirteenth century had any personal memory of or direct experience with Jewish people. If there was knowledge of Jews in the family, it might have come from Mary's great-grandfather, the first Humphrey de Bohun (c. 1276–1322; the fourth Earl of Hereford and Essex) who married Edward I's daughter, Elizabeth (c. 1282–1316) in 1302. It was under the reign of Edward I that the Jews were expelled from England. For royal or aristocratic readers like Mary de Bohun, life at court would have kept them isolated from the cities or financial sectors that might have maintained memories of historical Jews.

As such, the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges, appearing at the opening of the hour of terce, in the *Bohun Hours* was populated with entirely fictional and imaginary characters for Mary de Bohun (Fig. 3.1). This image maps out the key plot points: a Jewish boy attends a Christian mass and, singled out by the Virgin with her pointing gesture, he takes communion with a mouth wide open. When his father, peeking into the church, discovers what his son has done, he is enraged and shoves the boy into a burning oven. Luckily, the Virgin immediately appears to save the boy, whom she pulls from the oven with the fabric of her robes, no worse for wear. There is very little visual drama in this image, and the artist presents only the essentials: the boy takes the host, the father puts the boy into the oven, and the Virgin saves the boy. End of story.

At the opening of the hour of prime, the same miracle is illustrated in the *Hours of Mary de Bohun* (Fig. 3.2). Here the artist provides a bit more information to express the subtle details of the miracle narrative. The tale takes place in three scenes instead of two, with the additional scene showing the father actually pushing his son into the oven. The basic elements that begin and end the miracle are the same: the boy takes communion in the church and then he appears happily seated in the oven in the end. The middle scene adds complexity to the chain of events. By illustrating the father as he pushes his son head first into the oven, the artist negates any sense of the boy's terror. The reader cannot see the boy's face. What is apparent in this middle scene is the anxiety conveyed through the crowd of five people surrounding the oven. They cower and frown, clutching their robes. In the front of the group is the boy's mother. She points anxiously to her husband as well as to the final scene. This female figure alerts the viewer to the terror of the scene.

Fig. 3.2 Prime, fol. 14v, *The Hours of Mary de Bohun*, Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, MS Thott 547. Photo: © The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

Mother as Interpreter of Violence

Through nuanced control of space, gesture, and costume, the Bohun artist exploits the instant when the mother cries out and accuses her husband of the terrible act. The heavy twisted folds of her white wimple echo her tightly crossed arms. She points one finger at her husband, and with the other hand she summons a crowd led by a bearded man who acknowledges the scene with an extended forefinger. She stands between the oven and the crowd, between the space of her home and the public sphere. Her pink dress draws attention to her transitional nature, mirroring the costume of the Virgin and the boys in church as well as the drapery defining the space of the church. Through visual means, the artist associates her with everyone in the visual narrative except her husband.

Considering the folio as a whole, the reader follows the interrelated red-robed figures from the Jew of Bourges in the *bas de page,* to Joseph in the historiated initial showing the Nativity to one of the shepherds in the upper marginal image of the Annunciation to the shepherds (Fig. 3.2). Purely visual devices, not the very standard prayer text, link these three figures, with Joseph and the Jew of Bourges visually identified by their bright red clothing, grey wrinkled faces, long beards, and covered heads. Their visual similarity draws attention to their association as the inverse of each other, the good father versus the bad father, opposed just as are the Virgin and the Jew of Bourges.

In the comparison of Joseph and the Jew of Bourges, we can read Joseph as a visual manifestation of St. Augustine's "Jewish witness." In Augustine's writings, beginning in *De genesi contra Manichaeos* (c. 388–389), *Contra Faustum* (c. 397–398), and *De civitate Dei* (c. 414–425), and culminating in the *Tractatus adversus Judeaeos* (c. 429), Jerome Cohen isolated and defined the doctrine of Jewish witness that creates and employs the Jew as a fossilized patriarchal figure.[15] The Jew is blind, bound to the letter of the law, and, though he is not a physical threat, Augustine advises adherence to the prescription laid forth in Psalm 59:12: "slay them not, lest at any time my people forget. Scatter them by thy power; and bring them down."[16] In the image from the *Hours of Mary de Bohun*, Joseph is the ultimate Jewish witness, and though he is not blind in this initial he avoids making direct eye contact with either the Virgin or the Child. On this page readers could see the Joseph as a necessary Biblical figure, and the Jew of Bourges as a fantastical figure of otherness in the margins. This contrast in masculinities further alienates the Jew of Bourges.

Mary de Bohun and the Virgin Mary

Recognizing and reading the Virgin on this folio, Mary de Bohun must have recalled the image of the Annunciation that opened the hour of matins in her book.[17] In this book of hours, the connection between Mary and the Virgin is established from this first historiated initial, where the angel Gabriel interrupts the Virgin's reading with the words "ave maria gracie", unfurling from his hand-scroll. The Virgin Mary looks up from her book, held by a red bookstand, holds her place in the text with one hand and calmly addresses the angel with the other. Gabriel's mouth is shut, yet his body, wings, and halo emanate bright orange and red flames that seem to scream his words. Mary de Bohun kneels in a turret perched outside of the scene; she ignores the book on her own red bookstand, turning her full concentration to the Virgin Mary. Turning the pages of her book, Mary could follow the Virgin, conveniently always in her royal costume of a blue robe emblazoned with gold *fleur de lys*, from the events of the Infancy and the Passion in the initials that open each hour, to the more "real world" scenes of the miracles found along the *bas de page*.

Returning to folio 14v, Mary de Bohun saw the Virgin as the ideal mother in action, not only caring for her son in the Nativity but also saving the Jewish boy in the miracle, enfolding him in her voluminous robes as she pulls him from the oven. Though centrally located in this illustration of the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges, the boy's mother fits a new anxious, yet heroic role, as an intercessor that exists outside of this tight nexus between the Virgin as mother model and the male Jew as anti-model. The Jewish mother is an important figure in terms of both the narrative of the miracle and also the reader's interpretation of it. She is both witness and reporter of the terrible act.

Textual Sources of the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges

Locating a direct textual mention of the boy's mother in the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges can be challenging, as there was not a singular text in medieval circulation of Miracles supposedly performed by the Virgin Mary. Tales of Mary the intercessor saving doubting men, women, and children from situations of danger and distress, originated in the Mediterranean and merged with local European folklore and mythology, but the first writer to bring the ancient stories together with the local

tales was Gregory of Tours in his *Libri miraculorum*. Beverly Boyd cites the growing popularity of using the miracle stories as "source books" for sermon exempla; local preachers or writers picked and chose from a store of miracles to find tales that would best appeal to their particular audiences.[18] Thus, several vernacular, particularly French, collections mention or take place in various French cities with sites dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

R. W. Southern reconstructed the "English origins" of the miracles and shows that collections of the miracles were made in and for English monasteries between 1100 and 1400. One such English collection, by William of Malmesbury, illustrates the English focus on Mary's power to save, and not always to cure, victims who actively prayed "Aves" before, during, and after being saved. Similarly, in England, the Virgin was a universal figure. Her miracles were more "generalized" than "localized" because they were not set at particular English shrines. Because the miracles that appear in fourteenth-century English devotional manuscripts seldom have textual explanation, it seems artists and patrons knew the tales independently.[19]

In popular miracle collections that were likely available to readers like Mary de Bohun, such as the *Golden Legend* composed by Jacobus da Voragine in about 1260, the mother screams and draws a crowd to witness the miracle itself.[20] In the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coinci (1177–1236), the text reads that after the mother discovers what has happened to her son, she cries, tears her hair, and then runs out into the street screaming, "Help! Help! Come soon, she said, this tyrant killed [him my son]."[21] The moment she recognizes that her son is in physical danger at the hands of his father—her husband—the mother cries out for help and separates herself from both his violent actions and her home, a Jewish space within a Christian city. After the boy is safely retrieved from the oven and tells of the Virgin who kept him safe, the townspeople put the father into the hot oven, while both mother and son receive baptism.

Reading the Jewish Mother

Both Miri Rubin and Denise Despres read the mother in the various texts of this miracle as a figure of "pathos," helplessly watching as her son, who they see as a metaphor for the Eucharistic host, is placed in harm's way.[22] This reading of the boy as host is sound, yet the role

and power of the mother merits further examination. Though she is an emotion-driven figure, her placement in this image, and other English examples, complements her role in the text as a sympathetic maternal model. She is an important transitional figure, marking the moment when the private act of familial conflict enters the realm of the Christian public.

She is also an example of a rarity among medieval representations of Jews. This female Jew is an example of an uncommon type, identified by Lisa Lampert as "the post-Crucifixion Jewess." Unrelated to the Old Testament matriarchs and the allegorical figure of Synagogue, she scarcely appears in medieval English culture until Shakespeare's character of Jessica, Shylock's daughter in *The Merchant of Venice* (1596–1598).[23] In a study of the Escorial manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Sara Lipton also questions the "non-iconography" of the Jewish woman in late medieval art. In arguing that the there was no specific element that signified Jewishness for visualizing women in the *Cantigas*, she concludes that, "the Jewess's female-ness trumped her Jewishness."[24] While Lipton's analysis is apt, English images of the mother in the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges are from a different context.[25]

In the case of the illuminated English examples I discuss here, this figure's identity as a mother is paramount and is the only constant in the nature of her character. The boy's mother in illustrations of this miracle, especially with her rather ordinary visual appearance, was part of a visual system dependent on the Christian reader's ability to identify with this female Jew. For instance, in the cycle of miracle images from the *Hours of Mary de Bohun*, artists continually presented positive maternal role models to the specifically gendered reader. Artists insured this visual connection by constructing a conservatively dressed woman, without overt sexualization, who was neither a physical nor a spiritual threat. In creating a bond between Christian reader and Jewish woman as subject, artists exploited both her physical accessibility and her husband's perceived physical and spiritual contrast to her. This connection provided female readers with new maternal role models. That artists could manufacture and audiences could identify this mother as a figure who moves in and out of her Jewishness as she crosses the boundary from her home to the public street, reflects contemporary medieval Christian views about Jewish women as spiritually fluid individuals. In her study of the host desecration myth, Miri Rubin locates the consistent villain in the tale, and many others, as necessarily the male Jew because medieval Christians

believed Jewish women to have a "pliant and impressionable" nature making them ripe candidates for conversion.[26]

Mothers as Mediatrix Figures

In this miracle, both the Virgin and the boy's mother operate as mediatrix figures. Without the Virgin's intercession, the boy would be burned in the oven and without his mother's screams the act would have presumably gone unnoticed, in the private sphere of the domestic Jewish space, and her husband would therefore remain unpunished. Even though the boy relies on both his mother and the Virgin for his salvation, artists had a choice to make when illustrating this miracle, of whether or not to include the mother. Not all manuscript illuminations include visualizations of the Jewish mother.[27] In the key images where she is present, such as the *Hours of Mary de Bohun and three other examples (from the Vernon Manuscript, the Neville of Hornby Hours, and the Smithfield Decretals*), her response to the violent abuse done to her son moves the scene from a pat recounting of a story to a terrifying narrative.

The Vernon Manuscript

In the *Vernon Manuscript*, a unique and extensive compilation of religious texts including the Marian Miracles dating to c. 1390–1400, the mother plays a similarly pivotal role to that found in the *Hours of Mary de Bohun* (Fig. 3.3).[28] Exact patronage for this manuscript is not certain, but/though most scholars agree that it was made for use at a communal religious institution. Kathleen L. Scott suggests a religious community "possibly Cistercian," while Carol M. Neale further suggests that the manuscript was made for a group of nuns or laywomen associated with a monastic institution.[29] In this fascinating manuscript, text and image are directly related; the miniature introduces a long Anglo-Norman account of the miracle.

Visualization of the miracle in the *Vernon Manuscript* unfolds in a swirling chain of narrative events beginning with the Jew of Bourges towering over his son outside of a church. Though his face does not appear particularly malicious—showing a downturned mouth surrounded by a long curly beard—his massive body dominates the image space, his head almost reaching the top of the frame as he raises a grass broom over his son whom he pulls from the church by his hand. A second figuration

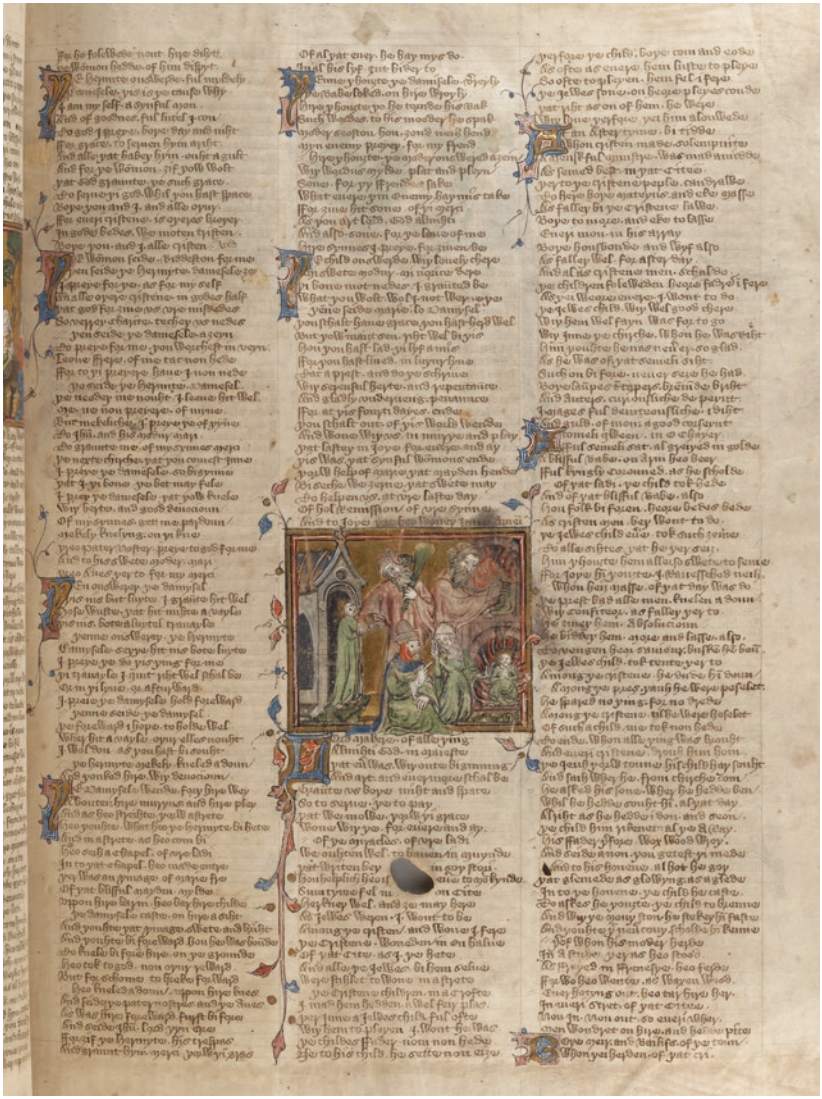


Fig. 3.3 The Miracle of the Jew of Bourges, fol. 125r, *Vernon Manuscript*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.Poet.A.1. Photo: © The Bodleian Library, The University of Oxford

of the father, literally back to back with the first, marks the second scene when he pushes his son, again head first, into the oven. The oven, revealing only the boy's feet, emits bright orange flames that seem almost to lick the Jew's face, perhaps an allusion to his punishment. The accompanying textual account of the miracle is detailed and dramatic. It concludes with conversions of the mother and boy, as well as the Mayor's verdict on the father's fate, "In that same oven he should be burnt."[30]

The Virgin Mary never physically appears in this image. The boy's mother is the intercessor as well as the witness. In the final scene, she sits outside the oven looking at one of the town officials who addresses her with a raised hand. She conveys the incident to him with one hand pointing to her son, who smiles with hands clasped in prayer and surrounded by a mandorla of bright flames, and her other hand gesturing to the action performed by her husband above in the first scene. Here the mother is the rescuer of her son, calling the town officials and kneeling outside the oven as if at prayer herself.

The Jewish mother occupies an interesting position in both the visual and textual narrative of this folio. Space becomes questionable as the action is collapsed. Just looking at the image, one wonders if she has she actually witnessed the horrific event? According to the text, the mother saw her husband put their son in the oven:

> She acted as if frightened into a frenzy
> For woe she went as waxen as wood.
> Ever hollering out, she tore her hair
> In every street of that city
> Now in, now out, so everywhere
> Men wondered on her and had pity.[31]

The description of her anxiety-driven emotional state is so dramatic, yet she appears calm and collected in the miniature as she addresses the official to show that her son is all right. Returning to the text, we learn that after causing such "a frenzy," the mayor and bailiffs of the city arrested her and when she stopped crying she told them what had happened. This is the moment the artist chose to illustrate. Instead of emotionally screaming and pulling her hair, we see a mother advocating for her son's well-being. Her story is heartfelt but her words seem measured and poised:

Sirs, you have this city to keep,
As Lord's hand to lead the law.
Allas, Allas, I am shamed,
And help of you must be due me.
I ask you for just judgment:
My case I shall before you prove.
My husband has my child burnt,
I stopped him in a glowing oven.
Go see, Sirs, go quickly,
And I shall give you gold to glove.[32]

The artist placed this woman literally at the feet of her husband, yet her placement signifies her spiritual fluidity and potential for conversion. The lines marking the shape of the oven continue, creating a feeling of cause (son in the oven) and effect (son saved). The upper and lower scenes are unified by the family group that is about to splinter. The father does the terrible deed and the mother is the savior. Only the mayor is completely outside, literally, the frame of the miniature, which here serves as a boundary marking the domestic, private, Jewish space. Looking closely at the boy's mother, one sees her tenuously balanced between the two spheres, connected to every part of the image as well as the space beyond, as her knee is actually on the frame itself.[33] Picturing her on the edge of the frame, teetering between Christian and Jewish space, the artist alludes to the outcome of the text; the mother converts to Christianity.

The *Neville of Hornby Hours*

A different artist exploits the same spatial boundary tensions in imaging the Jewish mother in a historiated initial from the Neville of Hornby Hours, made c. 1340–1350 for Isabel de Byron the wife of Robert I de Neville of Hornby.[34] Here the artist pushes the mother into the curve of the initial *O* beginning a prayer of intercession *O domina clemetissima virgo maria*. She does not cry nor scream, instead she mirrors the Virgin, looking away from her husband and the oven. Instead of calling for help from the city officials or other townsfolk, as we have seen in the images from the *Hours of Mary de Bohun and the Vernon Manuscript*, here she seems to be calling outside the image for help. Looking to the adjacent prayer text, the mother's hand reaches directly to the word

clemetissmima (mercy) appealing directly to the Virgin for help. The Virgin answers her prayers by preventing the father from putting his son into the hot oven. The father, with his grotesquely caricatured profile, struggles with the boy and appears to thrust his hand under the boy's tunic. He does not seem to notice that the Virgin's long open sleeve shields the boy from the oven.

Though this book was made for Isabel de Byron rather late in her life, this particular folio bears specific importance to future female readers as young mothers.[35] Below the prayer text begging the Virgin's intercession, and the image begging the same result, there is a short rubric, identified and transcribed by Kathryn A. Smith, advising the reader to say the prayer if "milk leaks from her breasts during pregnancy."[36] In addition to preparing the future reader for pregnancy, with rather specific and practical advice, this one folio could also teach women how to be good Christian mothers. The nourishing power of motherhood is further reiterated when one turns the folio to find an image of the Virgin's milk healing a monk in a historiated initial.[37]

The *Smithfield Decretals*

In the *Smithfield Decretals* a series of five images illustrate the miracle in the space of the *bas de page*.[38] This complicated manuscript comprises the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX with a continuous gloss by Bernard of Parma. Though written in Italy, for use in Paris, it was illustrated in England around 1340 under the patronage of John Batayle who was a canon at Smithfield Priory, which was to be the home of this massive book by the 1370s.[39] The mother appears in three of the miniatures from the miracle cycle. In her first appearance, she stands expressionless with hands folded and quietly watches her husband lead the boy to the oven. Missing from the image where the boy is put into the oven, she reappears to witness the Virgin block the boy from the flames, protecting him with her long, open sleeve. In the final scene, she acknowledges the retrieval of her son from the oven by a tonsured cleric as she kneels with raised hands.

In the Smithfield images the artist shifts the focus to the Virgin and a new character entirely, the male cleric who removes the boy from the oven. This shift from Jewish mother to cleric, points directly to the importance of patronage and audience in the mechanics of the image.

Despite this inclusion of the new male character of the cleric rescuer, the Jewish mother's role remains an important aspect of the visual narrative.

Through the three images in the *Smithfield Decretals*, the mother serves as a foil to her husband, becoming more separate from his actions and religion as the images progress. In the first scene, she stands squarely between two trees and a bell tower, alluding to the Church where the boy took Communion, while the father pulls the boy's arm leading him to the oven. The boy, though mirroring his father's gait, is framed against the base of the bell tower, the visual connection furthered by his blue tunic echoing the blue bell. The mother wrings her folded hands in isolation. When she reappears, she is a witness to the Virgin saving her son, here her tensely wrung hands replaced with hands folded in prayer, mirroring her son's praying hands as he is saved by the Virgin and visually signifying her own conversion to Christianity. In the final scene, she raises her hands in acknowledgement of the cleric's pulling the boy from the oven. Here, for the first time in the cycle, two male bystanders, who serve as confirming witnesses, mirror her actions. Though she does not actively summon townsfolk or even the adjacent text for help, the Smithfield artist relies on the mother's presence as witness to cement and ultimately communicate the dramatic tension of the scene.

Mother as Boundary Marker and Interpreter

In these distinct images from four unique manuscripts, the rich character of the Jewish mother in the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges identifies and crosses boundaries that mark Christian and Jewish space. The oven marks the space of the Jewish home defined by the husband's livelihood. In most texts of the miracle, the Jew of Bourges is a glassblower, explaining the need for such a large oven just outside the family home. In the *Hours of Mary de Bohun*, the mother stands next to the oven as she summons the crowd. She marks the boundary between the Jewish space of the home and the Christian space of the city, yet she stares out of the image as if to beckon the viewer for help. The converse is true for two other manuscripts in this study. In the *Vernon Manuscript*, the artist balances the mother on the edge of the frame as she addresses the mayor, while in the *Neville of Hornby Hours* the mother marks the edge of the initial and begs for mercy from the prayer text. In the *Smithfield Decretals*, her acknowledgement, with raised hands, of her son's rescue draws an audience of two men to confirm the miracle she witnessed.

In each image, her response to the abuse befalling her son is to look beyond the comfortable space of the image, of her home and her community, to the outside, Christian world for help. Whether she implores the viewer, the mayor, or the prayer text, anxiety and fear for her son's well-being drives this character to separate herself from the environment that marks her Jewish identity setting the scene for the conversion narrative and cementing the relationship between a newly Christian mother and a Christian reader.

Further heightening the variability of the mother's Jewishness is the constancy of the boy's inherent Christianity, visualized by artists in terms of the space of the church and his gesture of prayer. In these images there is seldom any doubt as to the visual Christianity of the Jewish boy, who is not affected by the same signifiers of difference that mark and define his father. This tension between father and son as Jew and Christian, highlights the appeal of the mother for Christian audiences. Mirroring the Virgin Mary, the mother's devotion to her son ultimately usurps her Jewish identity.

The Jewish Mother as Role Model

Even though the mother in this miracle is an example of an uncommon representational type in the realm of anti-Semitic imagery constructed by medieval imaginations, she can be an important figure in the spiritual lives of medieval Christian men and women. She is uncommon, yet designed to be completely accessible to the Christian reader. As such, she operates outside the realm of Old Testament heroines and queens, the allegorical figure of Synagogue, and separately even from the few images of Jewish mothers eating their children found in depictions of the Siege of Jerusalem. As well, she is almost antithetical to the blatantly stereotyped male Jews shown in grotesque caricature commonly found in Passion imagery. Instead of relying on these established visual types, artists constructed this new character from expected visualizations of medieval women. In all of the images in this paper, these mothers wear simple clothes and plain wimples, typical costume for all medieval women. Imparting to them a sense of visual accessibility, artists diffused their perceived inherent difference, their Jewishness, for the medieval Christian reader.

Yet visualizations of this figure are still part of the general presence of anti-Semitism in medieval English culture long after the Jews

were physically expelled from the country. Her success in this Christian narrative lies in visualizations of her as an inherently good mother through which she avoids the common signs and symbols such as hooked noses, tormenting grimaces, and associations with owls, used to demonize Jews. Her forced participation in this blatantly anti-Semitic narrative ultimately strengthens the mythology of the male Jew as a physical enemy to Christianity and its members, especially children. There is no doubt that images like these reinforced the already rampant fears inspired by the many accusations of ritual murder prevalent in medieval England.[40] Indeed, Thomas of Monmouth's late twelfth century description of the alleged murder of the boy, William of Norwich, depends on the visceral and violent masculinity of the Jews.[41] That the Jewish mother could appeal so effectively to the Christian reader could make the male Jew seem even more alien and imaginary long after the Jews were expelled from England. Juxtaposing the evil Jewish father with the accessible, ultimately Christian mother propagated, using purely visual devices, anti-Semitism for a population of English Christians for whom Jews were always the ultimate other.

Notes

1. *The Bohun Hours*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.4.4, fol. 203v.
2. Recent interdisciplinary scholarship on the visual dehumanization of the Jew by Strickland, Lipton, and Bale builds on the foundations laid in classic works by Mellinkoff, Schreckenberg, and Blumenkranz. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*; Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*; Bale, *Feeling Persecuted*. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*; Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art*; Blumenkranz, *Le Juif Medieval au Miroir de l'Art Chretien*.
3. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*. Recent work on the "presence" of Jews in English imaginations, as manifested in popular culture especially literature, after the Expulsion can be found in the following: Tomasch, 243–260 and Lampert, *Gender and Jewish Difference*.
4. The events leading to the Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290 have been widely studied. Key foundational work on the history of the Jews in England by Roth, including *A History of the Jews in England*; *The Jews of Medieval Oxford*; and *The Intellectual Activities of the Medieval English Jewry* and Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England* have been supplemented by recent interdisciplinary studies by Stacey. Stacey's relevant publications include the "From Ritual Crucifixion to Host Desecration,"

11–28; "The Conversion of the Jews to Christianity," 263–283; "Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century England," 340–354.

5. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 2–5.
6. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*.
7. *The Hours of Mary de Bohun*, Copenhagen, Konelige Bibliotek, Thott 547, fol. 14v.
8. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*. A full codicological analysis and online facsimile of *the Hours of Mary de Bohun* was prepared in 2002 by Erik Drigsdahl, founder of the Center for Håndskriftstudier i Danmark (CHD), and can be found at http://www.chd.dk/gui/thott547_HV_gui.htm.
9. The wedding took place in either late 1380 or early 1381. Sandler, *Lichtenthal Psalter*, 11. Bevan, *Henry IV*, 7.
10. *The Chronicles of England*, 623–624.
11. Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power," 67.
12. Henry's father, John of Gaunt paid for Mary's expenses while living with her mother. In addition, he paid Joan a small additional stipend. Public Records Office, London, DL29/262/4070, m.3
13. For more general details on the Colchester Jews see, Roth, *The History of the Jews in England*, 21, 91, 120.
14. In the margin of an Essex Forest Roll of 1277, a hooded figure, wearing a badge in the shape of the two tablets of the law on his outer robes, appears under the label "*Aaron fil Diaboli*". The section of text next to the image recounts an incident in which a number of Jews and Christians chased a deer through the streets of the Colchester and were therefore prosecuted for violating several of the complex forest laws. The Public Records Office catalogue refers to this as a "Plea roll of Essex forest eyre 1277" for the 5th year of Edward I's reign. Its twenty-two membranes include details of the cases brought before Roger de Clifford, Matthew de Columbariis, Geoffrey de Pichford, and Nicholas de Romsey and also several other images. Jacobs provides the most comprehensive information on the roll text and image. "Aaron son of the Devil" in *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays*, 225–233.
15. For a helpful table that tracks Augustine's development of this doctrine see Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 41.
16. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 19–23, 33–35.
17. *The Hours of Mary de Bohun*, Copenhagen, Konelige Bibliotek, Thott 547, fol. 1r. Now the beginning of Matins is the start of the volume but the book must have contained a calendar or some other prefatory pages that are unfortunately now lost.
18. For more information see the following: Boyd, 3; Glover, 37; Wilson, 9.

19. Southern, 177. See also studies by Mussafia, 917–994; and Carter, 138.
20. In the miracle as written in the *Golden Legend*, after the father throws his son into the oven, his mother's cries attract the crowd of onlookers. De Voragine, 87–88. The only manuscripts specifically linked to Mary are those made to celebrate her marriage around 1380. However, there were significant collections of books available to her at both Pleshey Castle and Walden Abbey in Essex. The variety of these volumes in the locations where Mary spent her childhood and the early years of her marriage is evident in two documents: an inventory of goods, from 1397, at Pleshey Castle in Essex lists a *Miracles de Nostre Dame* under the category of *Livres de Diversis Rymances et Estories* (Books of Diverse Romances and Histories). In her 1399 will, Mary's sister Eleanor 1399 bequeaths, "*Item liure beal et bien eluminesde legenda aurea en Frauncais*" (Item a well illuminated book of the *Golden Legend* in French) to her daughter Anne. Cavanaugh, *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England*, 110, 847.
21. "*Hareu! Hareu! A ce tirant car acorez, fait ele, tost!*" Coinci, 97.
22. Rubin, 13–15. Despres, 385–386. This reading is more suited to the often published and unique illustration of the miracle from a Parisian manuscript of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Paris, BN, Nouv.acqu. fr.24541, fol. 35) associated with Jean Pucelle. In this little image, the mother is inside the house, screaming and pulling her long hair in grief, while her husband puts the boy in the oven outside. Though she appears to be moving outside the house, and frame of the image, she is trapped.
23. Lampert, 143–145.
24. Lipton, 158.
25. Though outside the scope of this project three other instances of the non-biblical woman in English medieval art merit further examination in later studies. The first is from the rich realm of marginal images on the Exchequer rolls now in the Public Records Office in London. A complex image showing three Jews, identifiable by name, from Norwich at the top of a Jewish receipt roll from 1233 includes the striking figure of Avegaye, a female moneylender in addition to Isaac of Norwich and Moses Mokke. The three figures are arranged in the presence of devils, one of which points to the exaggerated noses of Moses Mokke and Avegaye. Yet, Avegaye's costume appears conservative and unremarkable, whereas Moses Mokke wears an elaborate pointed hat. The earliest reproduction is in Pike, *History of Crime in England*. The most recent discussion of the work is Strickland, 78. The most thorough examination of Avegaye is in Adler, 15–46.

    The second instance is the character of the Jewish mother, Mary of Bethezuba, in Book VI: 202–213 of Josephus's *Jewish War*, who driven by starvation kills, cooks, and eats her son. Illustrations of this scene are

rare in England but appear in images of the Siege of Jerusalem. Smith examines such imagery in *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England*, plate 8, 131–139. See also Smith, 179–202.

The third source is the Miracles of the Virgin. The Miracle of the Jew of Bourges offers the richest imagery for this study' but other miracles could be mined for further examples of the non-biblical Jewish woman. Wilson *The Stella Maris* 189–190 comprises a useful list.

26. Rubin, 71.
27. In addition to the *Bohun Hours* in Oxford, there are two other English manuscript illuminations of the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges that do not contain visualizations of the boy's mother. Instead, both contain two bas de page images to recount the miracle: the first shows the boy taking communion in the church and the second illustrates a physical struggle, resembling a tug of war, between the Virgin and the Jew. *The Carew-Poyntz Hours*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 48, fol. 188v-189r. *The Queen Mary Psalter*, London: British Library, Royal 2.B.VII, fol. 207v–208r.

    There are five illustrations of the miracle in the public sphere of English medieval art: wall paintings in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral and in the Eton College Chapel Choir; a stained glass window from Lincoln Cathedral; a boss in the cloister of Norwich Cathedral; and a much damaged carving from the Lady Chapel at Ely Cathedral. None of these examples includes the boy's mother.
28. *The Vernon Manuscript*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 125r.
29. Scott, 23. Meale, 135.
30. Boyd, 43."*In that same hovene he schulde be brent.*"
31. Ibid., 41.

    As frayed in frenesye heo ferde;
    For wo heo wente as waxen wood.
    Ever hotyng out, heo tar hire her
    In everi stret of that cite,
    Nou in, nou out, so everywhere:
    Men wondret on hire and hedde pite.

32. Ibid., 41.

    Sires, ye han this cite to kepe,
    As lordus han to lede the lawe.
    Allas, allas, I am ischent,

And help of ow me mot bihoven.
I prey ow of just juggement:
Mi cause I scahl before you proven.
Mi hosebonde hath my child ibrent,
Istopped him in a glouwyng hoven.
Goth seoth, Sires, bi on assent,
And I schal yive ow gold to gloven.

33. Looking across the page opening to folio 124v, one finds two miniatures, the Miracle of the Child Slain by Jews and the Miracle of the Harlot of Rome. In both, a woman sits on the edge of the frame to address a figure in the corner of the image. In the Miracle of the Harlot of Rome, the converted prostitute prays to the Virgin, kneeling and turning her back, literally, to her old ways. The Miracle of the Child Slain by Jews, a precursor to Chaucer's "Prioress's Tale," recounts the story of a Christian boy in Paris who sings the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* through the streets of the Paris Jewry. Hearing the boy's song the Jews kill him, but he keeps singing, so they then throw him into a *gonge-put* (privy pit). Searching for her son, the boy's mother hears his voice coming from the Jew's house and implores the mayor and bailiffs to investigate. In a swirling and compact narrative, the boy's mother addresses the town officials with one hand and refers to the murder of her son with the other. She is poised between the past action done to her son and the present when she begs for help, all the while sitting just outside the frame, marking the beginning words of the miracle, "Whoever loves well Our Lady" (*Wose loveth wel Ure Ladi*).
    Comparing these two images with the miniature illustrating the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges, we see a strong connection and emphasis placed on the female protagonist. In the two miracles that involve children, the Virgin is not present in the miniatures; instead the mothers (Christian and Jewish) balance on the frame of the image to advocate for their children, imploring the town officials to help. Readers could connect the Jewish mother and the Christian mother in these miracles by both action and appearance. They could also make a connection between the conversion of the Jewish mother and the conversion of the harlot. Over the course of these two pages, the Jewish mother fits in a larger context of imagery that focused on the saving power of motherhood. The Vernon Manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.a.1, fol. 124v. For a transcription of the miracles see Boyd, *The Middle English Miracles*, 33–37.
34. *The Neville of Hornby Hours*, London, British Library, MS Egerton, 2781, fol. 24r.

35. There is an image of Isabel de Byron, between her family crests, wearing a widow's hood in an elaborate miniature showing the Siege of Jerusalem on folio 190r. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, plate 8, 34, 267.
36. Smith, 316.
37. Smith, 128.
38. *The Smithfield Decretals*, London, British Library, Royal 10.E.IV, fol. 210v–213v.
39. Sandler, 111. Bovey, 138.
40. The first of the allegations of ritual murder made again the Jews in England was a case involving the death of William of Norwich in 1144. This incident set a precedent that inspired and influenced several other accusations into the thirteenth century. Memory of these events persisted and developed in English culture well into the later Middle Ages. Rubin, ed. *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*; Langmuir, 820–846; Hillaby, 69–109; McCullough, 698–740. Rose, *The Cult of William of Norwich and the Accusation of Ritual Murder*.
41. Rose, *The Murder of William of Norwich*.

CHAPTER 4

Representing Women and Poverty in Late Medieval Art

Holly Flora

Recent art historical studies have suggested ways that images can delineate the poor as "other," suggesting their distinct social, economic, and possibly even physical status.[1] While such interest in visual portrayals of poverty is largely concentrated in the early modern period in northern Europe, less attention has been paid to the impoverished represented in art made before the year 1400.[2] Moreover, the implications of gender as it affects representations of poverty remain almost entirely unexplored.[3] What has not been discussed fully are the ways in which images of female poverty are "othered," that is, made distinct in ways that reinforce social hierarchies and conform to pervasive societal conceptions of male and female difference.[4]

In order to better understand the understudied "other" of poor women in art, this essay examines a selection of representations of female poverty made during the later Middle Ages in western Europe. Because images of poor women are relatively rare in this late medieval period, this study draws upon a wide-ranging group of examples from

H. Flora (✉)
Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_4

both northern and southern European contexts dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Portrayals of women among paupers occur most frequently in depictions of charitable giving in the form of money or food, so this discussion centers on those narratives. In these images of charity, destitute females appear more frequently in works of art either aimed at women, or in works that depict female patrons or female saints. Although visual portrayals of charity have received increasing scholarly attention, much of this research focuses on the personification of charity and/or does not treat the gender politics implicit in charitable gifts given to, or received by, women.[5] I argue that depictions of the giving of alms or other aid offer glimpses into ambivalent cultural attitudes towards poor women and those who were expected to assist them, while also reinforcing societal constructs of gender and economic difference.

The Current Study

In focusing on how women are pictured in scenes of almsgiving or charity, this paper will treat two types of "deserving" poor women—paupers as well as religious women who embraced poverty. First, I will foreground my analysis by outlining medieval definitions of, and attitudes towards, the poor, and then note how my methodology reflects theoretical discourses on ideology and gender ideology. I then discuss images of "involuntarily" poor women—that is, women who did not elect poverty for religious reasons but are economically destitute. My analysis centers on women portrayed as recipients of charity in almsgiving scenes found in illustrated manuscripts that were made for noble laywomen or for nuns, usually women who came from wealthy families. These texts were designed for personal prayer and meditation, and as such, they encouraged charitable behavior on the part of their readers as part of an overall promotion of proper Christian conduct. Following this, a second section of this essay treats scenes of giving by "voluntarily" poor women—that is, those who had taken religious vows of poverty, such as the Franciscan tertiaries Margaret of Cortona and Elizabeth of Hungary.[6] These examples are drawn from public monuments such as reliquaries and funerary sculptures that adorned spaces of worship and were visible to a wider public, advertising the giving of charity as integral to the sanctity of the women depicted. Considered together in cultural contexts of gender and expectations for charitable giving, this diverse selection of private

and public images reveals multiple ways that poor women could be distinguished as the "other" in medieval Europe.

Definitions of and Attitudes Towards the Poor

To help frame the following discussion of images of poor women, a brief introduction to medieval concepts of poverty is in order. A basic definition of the poor, and one that could hold equally true today, was expressed in the fourteenth century by the Dominican preacher Giordano da Rivalto, who said "They are poor because they do not have enough on which to live."[7] Medieval authors often used the term "poor" as an issue of essential subsistence, in reference both to the religious poor and to street beggars, and pointed to biblical definitions of the poor as widows, pilgrims, and orphans, etc. as well as peasants and laborers.[8] This definition, however, must be further nuanced. As social historians have demonstrated, poverty throughout medieval societies did not necessarily exist as strictly a condition of "class."[9] Richard Trexler points out that the "poor" also included those who lacked the means to live in a manner appropriate to their inherited place in society.[10] One could be a poor noble or knight, and regardless of economic status, those with physical ailments, such as leprosy or lameness, were also counted among the poor.[11] There were thus many different ways in which those who were economically and/or physically disadvantaged were deemed "poor" and as such, they were categorized separately from mainstream society, and therefore "othered."

Not surprisingly, then, depending on the context, the poor in the Middle Ages were looked upon with varying degrees of pity or contempt. In spite of the Gospel injunctions to Christians to care for the poor and comparisons of the impoverished to the "poor" Christ, those less fortunate in medieval society were often ridiculed and marginalized. Medieval writers speak of the stigma of shame attached to poverty. The fourteenth-century *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, for example, describes how Christ embraced poverty and experienced "not only the pain of poverty but also its shame."[12] Destitution was frequently considered to be a result of sin, either indirectly in terms of mankind's need to work, the curse of original sin that led to Adam's labor in the fields and Eve's labor in childbirth, or more directly as the by-product of idleness. In texts as well as images, a distinction between the "deserving" versus

the "undeserving" poor was often made. Able-bodied men who lived by begging were "undeserving," as Augustine wrote, "the church ought not to provide for a man who is able to work."[13] But an able body did not always result in a full stomach, for as Michel Mollat relates, the working poor were also in need of charity, particularly as harvests failed and cities grew during the late Middle Ages.[14] And yet despite this reality, those who could work but still needed to beg were considered a negative "other." Again, social status played a role in how the poor were marginalized. Poor nobles, for example, were less likely than the working poor to be criticized, and indeed those who were considered of too high a social standing to beg were often seen as legitimately poor and thereby prioritized in terms of institutional charity.[15]

Images of the poor reflect such societal attitudes about degrees of deservedness amongst those already considered impoverished. Art historian Gerald Guest has pointed to the medieval distinction between the "pauper" who passively, humbly, and shamefully receives alms, and the "beggar" who actively seeks them with pride and arrogance, as one means of distinguishing between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. He argues that in the book of hours of Jeanne d'Evreux of c. 1325, "beggars" tend to appear alone in the margins, with no giver, while "paupers" directly receive St Louis' charity in the book's main pictorial program (Fig. 4.1).[16] The paupers as they are pictured in almsgiving scenes are therefore portrayed more sympathetically than the beggars such as those who populate the margins of Jeanne's manuscript, among other examples.[17] In contrast to such "involuntarily" poor individuals, the "voluntary" poor, i.e. those who took religious vows of poverty, were praised for their piety and frequently glorified for their own charitable actions towards the "involuntarily" poor. Particularly in Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the growth of cities and the increase in the numbers of urban poor helped to establish poverty as a standard virtue in defining the sanctity of certain individuals.[18] Saint Francis of Assisi is perhaps the most famous among many such examples, but female saints such as Elizabeth of Hungary and Clare of Assisi, both Franciscans, also participated in this late medieval celebration of elective, pious poverty.

Fig. 4.1 St. Louis Caring for the Sick, fol. 142v–143, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, New York, Cloisters Collection

Ideology and Medieval Images of the Poor

In looking at medieval images of poor women, the theoretical lenses of "ideology" and "gender ideology" are useful in considering the power structures at work in such depictions. The Marxist concept of ideology has been defined both in a negative sense, as those widely-held, almost unconscious ideas and beliefs imposed on a society by those in power, or as resulting from economic and social structures, and in a more positive sense as those beliefs held in common by a society, which are not necessarily imposed by a single interest group.[19] Jonathan J.G. Alexander's applications of the concept of ideology to medieval Christian imagery serve as models. He explains how art simultaneously reflected commonly held religious beliefs, but could also be used by those in power to promote specific attitudes or values.[20] Images of the poor subscribe to just

such an ideological construction because they reflect the attitudes and desires of the nobility—the patrons who commissioned most artworks that picture the poor. For example, Alexander suggests that in the *Très Riches Heures* made for Jean, the Duke of Berry in the early fifteenth century, male and female peasants are shown not only working in the fields but baring their genitals while warming themselves by a fire. Such uncouth behavior marked them as morally and socially inferior to the Duke and his fellow noblemen and women, who appear in the manuscript engaged in courtly pursuits such as feasting and hunting. This rather unsympathetic view of peasants paired with the celebratory vision of the duke thus visually reinforces and affirms the social hierarchies of the waning feudal system.[21]

Another ideological layer is added to economic and class considerations when the representations involve gender politics. While it is problematic to speak of a single concept of "gender" in medieval Europe, biblical notions of male and female difference as interpreted by the Christian church shaped prevailing gender ideologies.[22] Because the fall of mankind in the Garden of Eden was enacted by Eve, the first woman, Christian exegetes held women to be inherently weak and evil, prey especially to temptations of the body.[23] Male-dominated institutions in the Middle Ages such as the church and the nobility often controlled the economic status of women and their pictorial representations, and so images of women can reflect socially created male attitudes towards them.[24] Some such images are misogynistic, marking women as "other" in the sense of being considered inferior to men and marginalized in dominant social structures like the church.[25] But art also suggests a more complicated view of women. Late medieval Christianity in western Europe centered on devotion to the Virgin Mary, for example, and celebratory images of her proliferated, despite her female nature.[26] Exalted qualities like virginity elevated the status of certain women like Mary and female saints, making their behaviors that fell outside of traditional gender norms more acceptable.[27] Wealth also helped to elevate a woman's status within society. As will be explained further below, wealthy women were regarded and depicted differently than the poor women shown as recipients of charity. The wealthy women who give charity were generally seen as generous and pious, while the poor women who are objects of such charity were portrayed as pitiable. By contrast, voluntarily "poor" women who embraced poverty for religious reasons tend not to be shown as pitiable, but are instead celebrated as role models for

all Christians. Economic and social status must therefore be considered alongside concepts of gender when interrogating images of an "other" such as the poor.

Involuntarily Poor Women as Recipients of Charity

I will now turn to the portrayal of poor women as objects in scenes of charitable giving. These narratives are where images of "involuntarily" poor women are most often found. Women are often not included in such scenes at all; the standard beggar or pauper figure in medieval art was male rather than female.[28] This general absence speaks to a double "othering" of poor women in art. Medieval patrons, viewers, and artists seem to have more easily mapped the qualities of the destitute, particularly those medieval society considered to be the "deserving" poor such as the sick and infirm, onto men. In this way we can observe a parallel discourse to the more typically male representations of other marginalized groups such as the Jews, as Sara Lipton has discussed in reference to the paucity of images of the Jewess in Gothic art.[29] Women beggars did not fit comfortably into a social order dictated primarily by a wealthy male patriarchy and a feudal society in which women were largely left out of the economic picture.[30] It is for this reason that images of almsgiving, which inherently depict the "deserving" poor, largely show men with obvious physical limitations that would prevent them from working.[31] Male pilgrims or penitents are also common in depictions of almsgiving. Although recent studies point to the important role women played in late medieval pilgrimage culture, the absence of female religious poor in almsgiving scenes suggests that pilgrimage was most properly the purview of men, who were more likely to have the freedom to undertake journeys of faith.[32] Dozens of examples of male vagrants as objects of charity could be cited, such as those in a thirteenth-century Sienese painting depicting St Andrea Gallerani giving money to the poor to a band of male beggars (Fig. 4.2).[33] Similarly, a miniature in the twelfth-century illustrated Life of St Edmund, features a group of fatigued male pilgrims in shabby dress alongside wretched men on crutches (Fig. 4.3).[34] These representations of the "deserving" poor emphasize the sanctity of the giver by making explicit the severity of the recipient's economic and physical infirmity and/or religious intention. For most depictions of male paupers, their pitiable situation was ideologically connoted via disability, disease, or dress.

Fig. 4.2 *St. Andrea Gallerani Distributing Alms to the Poor*, thirteenth century, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena

Fig. 4.3 *Edmund Distributing Alms*, New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M 736

Women, however, when present in almsgiving images, mostly lack these signs of sickness or disability, and their bodies are not bared by ragged clothing. Instead, they are fully clothed and almost always veiled. The veil was a sign of the marital or religious status of a woman, and therefore the figures in these images are presumably wives, nuns, or

widowed.[35] This portrayal is consistent with the way women tend to be viewed generally in medieval documents and literature: that is, in terms of their relationships to men. While medieval male society is often described via the traditional tripartite division indicating vocation—i.e. those who prayed, fought, or worked—medieval women were defined by their marital status, as virgins, wives, or widows.[36] The veiled women who appear in almsgiving scenes are most likely intended to be widows, for nuns and wives would presumably have other means of economic support. Single women, as Sharon Farmer has pointed out, were a threat to the traditional social order of medieval society, so the veil becomes a necessarily element denoting the "deserving" poor female.[37] The veil is also a sign of modesty, for hair was a signifier of wealth and beauty, particularly associated with the vice of Luxuria.[38] That such women are also fully dressed and disease free is also telling. Otherwise, bodily punishment for sexual sin would be implied, thus marking such women "undeserving" of charity. Conversely, a physical disability would mean that a man was incapable of working to earn wages, and make him more likely to be placed in the "deserving" category.

Examples from two manuscripts made for nuns illustrate some differences in the way poor men and women were typically portrayed in almsgiving scenes. In a copy of Herrad of Hohenbourg's *Hortus Deliciarum*, a manuscript made for nuns in the twelfth century, a group of paupers includes a woman who is accompanied by lame and blind men of varying ages and possibly even of different social classes, as indicated by the differentiation in their costumes.[39] One apparently able-bodied man, standing behind a one-eyed man with a crutch, wears an embellished tunic, suggesting that he is a nobleman now fallen on hard times. The veiled woman in this scene lacks such obvious indicators of social position, and unlike the men, she appears at the back of the crowd, as do most women portrayed in scenes of almsgiving. The relative reticence of the woman here may be explained by the fact that begging was considered a particularly shameful activity for women, for it could signal prostitution.[40] An image of a male (even in this case in which the knight is a personification of Largesse) giving money directly to a woman would almost certainly have been considered inappropriate; here, instead, it is clear that the giver is distributing charity to a mixed population representative of the poor in general.

Similar legitimate recipients populate two scenes of charity in another manuscript made for nuns: a fourteenth-century illustrated manuscript

of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. ital. 115, likely made for an unknown Franciscan nun or Poor Clare. Here, the Virgin Mary herself is the charitable female giver. Although Mary was a model of charity for all Christians, the *Meditationes* text, written by a friar for a nun, assigns Mary as a specific role model for the female reader to emulate.[41] According to the text, while enclosed at the temple as a young girl, Mary subsisted on bread from angels and gave her own meager fare to the poor (Fig. 4.4). Later, she immediately gave away the gifts of the Magi to a similar, larger crowd of paupers. The paupers in Ms. ital. 115 appear aged or otherwise physically impaired, or wear religious dress. In the image showing Mary giving bread to the poor, she is shown handing a wafer-like circle to three figures—two men and a woman. The two men are bearded and apparently elderly (one is bald), and one leans on a staff and wears a wide-brimmed traveling hat and a long hairshirt, the marks of a religious pilgrim. Standing behind the men, the woman wears simple garb and is veiled. A lone child dressed in a plaid garment, and with strange green stripes painted on his head, appears in front of the crowd, actually eating the Virgin's bread. Another child reaches upward to the Virgin in front of a larger crowd of beggars as the Virgin distributes the gifts of the Magi, shown in the form of coins. Here, a bald man with crutches, a man with a staff and wide hat in ecclesiastical dress, a man with a bandaged foot, and a wild-looking young man with a pilgrim's scrip stand in front, while three other bearded men and two veiled women reach to the Virgin from the rear of the crowd.

These portrayals are consistent with that in the earlier *Hortus* manuscript—the women appear at the back of the crowds and do not display obvious physical infirmities. The presence of the children in the two images of charity in Ms. ital. 115 may imply Mary's own great charity as mother of the Christ Child, and further indicate a particular interest in a woman's charity towards children or orphans. The oddly-placed green stripes on the child's head in the first image may be a sign of his poverty, as seen in the dress of certain religious orders, thus underscoring Mary's particular attention to the poverty of children.[42] The visual references to her charity towards children were perhaps especially meaningful to nuns, who sometimes cared for orphans in their convents or in hospitals.[43] In her discussion of charitable work in such hospitals, Roberta Gilchrist remarks that roles within such institutions reflect societal gender divisions, with women often assigned labor roles associated with motherhood, such as the care of orphans.[44]

Fig. 4.4 *The Virgin Mary Giving Bread to the Poor*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, BnF ms. ital. 115

These images of charity aimed at female audiences may reflect gendered notions about women as appropriate charitable caregivers of children. Depictions of charity in illuminated prayerbooks made for wealthy married women show a similar expectation in promoting almsgiving to orphans. An example can be seen in a French book of hours made for Queen Jeanne de Navarre from c. 1336–1340 where the lady herself is shown handing alms to the poor.[45] Her hand is guided by an angel pointing toward the empty bowl of a downtrodden man accompanied by three small children. The male vagrant shown alone

with children carried on his back in Jeanne's hours has counterparts in other books of hours of the fourteenth century, many of which were made for women.[46] As Lucy Sandler has pointed out, these portrayals imply a family without a mother, which would therefore be the object of a woman's particular pity.[47] The bearing of children and the management of their care was among the primary duties of a married noblewoman, and thus images like this suggest that women like Jeanne saw parallels between their role in the larger community and that in her own family.[48]

Such representations of women helping other women and children concord with advice given to wealthy women in courtesy literature such as Christine de Pizan's *Treasury of the City of Ladies* (1405). Christine implores noble ladies to:

> … inquire throughout the town or elsewhere to find the destitute people, gentlefolk who have fallen on hard times, neglected widows, unfortunate wives, poor girls of an age to be married, women in childbed, students, priests, and monks living in poverty…. The noble lady will send her almoner secretly to these poor, good people so that even they themselves will not know whence the help is coming … [49]

Christine's text highlights the female destitute in particular, the "neglected widows, unfortunate wives, poor girls of an age to be married, women in childbed," among the proper recipients of her alms. Christine's advice to women to "secretly" send her almoner echoes the biblical injunction to anonymous almsgiving. In the book of Matthew, the faithful are thus commanded, "When you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing, so that your alms may be done in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you."[50]

And yet images such as that in Jeanne's manuscript hint that for her, the act of almsgiving was not anonymous at all. Jeanne is very clearly the source of the gift, even if in reality she herself did not drop coins into the purses of beggars. As Christine's text indicates, noblewomen like Jeanne de Navarre sent almoners out to do the actual distributing of alms, and thus the image of her actually physically doing so is an ideological construct glorifying her piety. The angel depicted in the image mediates the donation and also sanctifies her action, guiding her to the right recipients of her alms. Because of their wealth and position, wealthy women like Jeanne would have understood such acts of charity to be essential to

their personal salvation.[51] Wealthy women were charged with directing the charitable giving of their households in the late medieval period, and thus images like this one, mark Jeanne as an ideal wife and steward of the domestic economy.[52] Even if other family members were to read her book of hours, as was true in noble households like Jeanne's, those individuals would see her as a model of munificence.

The three examples I cite here come from devotional manuscripts made for women, all of which served to educate their readers in proper behavior for a female Christian.[53] The manuscripts of Herrad's *Hortus* and the *Meditationes* were both designed as part of the *cura monialium*, or pastoral care of nuns. That both of these manuscripts include images of women as objects of charity implies that the nuns themselves were to think of women in need as well as men. Perhaps for nuns, many of whom were widows, the nun-like veiled widows depicted provided figures of identification, opening the door for empathetic contemplation of the impoverished. Because most nuns in medieval Europe came from wealthy families, their own vows of poverty belied a life of privilege that stood in stark contrast to the vagrants depicted in their books.[54] Even the Virgin Mary, who donates the gifts of the Magi, is cast as a voluntarily poor woman. In this way the experiences of the nuns were not entirely different from that of a woman like Jeanne de Navarre, whose own portrait of charity speaks to an ideology of duty that comes with wealth. Privileged female readers would be reminded of their obligations towards the less fortunate, especially women and children, and encouraged to admire and emulate the charitable givers. In these cases the poor, or the "other," becomes integral to asserting and shaping the piety of the mainstream or "non-other" individual—the manuscripts' readers. The "othering" of poor women in these depictions therefore reinforced the social hierarchies and power structures already in place.

Voluntarily Poor Women as Givers of Charity

I now wish to turn from private images in devotional manuscripts to public images of women as both givers and recipients of charity. Reliquaries, funerary monuments, and other works celebrated "voluntarily" poor women such as female saints known for their charitable acts. These works were placed in churches, often in public worship spaces where they would have been accessible to a mixed audience of men, women, lay and clergy. Despite the differences in setting and audience,

these saints, like the wealthy women such as Jeanne de Navarre depicted in manuscripts, perform charity in an assertion of their imitable Christian piety. In these examples we see a similar gendering of the acts of charity to what was noted in the manuscript examples. Voluntarily poor women, like their wealthy charitable counterparts, were expected to be especially charitable towards "deserving" veiled, not obviously infirm women and to children. When female saints are shown giving alms or other goods to the poor, the saint is often shown making physical contact with a woman, not men. For example, in silver gilt roundels from the shrine of Elizabeth of Hungary in Marburg (c. 1250), Elizabeth, accompanied by a female companion, places her offering directly into the hands of a young woman with a baby who is surrounded by a crowd of poor men (Fig. 4.5). An episode sculpted on her early fourteenth-century funerary monument features the Franciscan tertiary Margaret of Cortona handing her robe to two veiled women, one young and one old. Elizabeth's shrine and Margaret's tomb held the bodies of these saints and thus became focal points of pilgrimage, so were accessible to the public in their respective churches.[55] In both images, charity is given from woman to woman. P.H. Cullum has noted kindred distinctions in the literary hagiography of female versus male saints: female saints more frequently perform charitable acts towards women and male saints most often give charity to other men.[56] As mentioned above, picturing a monetary exchange from male to female might be misinterpreted as prostitution. Because virginity or chastity was a virtue almost universally prized in male or female hagiography, any hint of inappropriate behavior towards the opposite sex becomes mitigated by restricting the charitable exchange to members of the same sex. Thus male saints tend to be shown in art performing acts of charity towards men rather than women, as in the abovementioned examples of Edmund and Andrea Gallerani (Fig. 4.2).

Gender boundaries seem somewhat more fluid in images of female saints performing specific charitable works that involve meeting physical needs, such as the washing of feet, tending the sick, or feeding the hungry. These duties are among those biblically prescribed in the book of Matthew and known as the Acts of Mercy.[57] Margaret of Cortona and members of her order, the Franciscan Tertiaries, were depicted washing the feet of a leper and giving shelter to the lame and poor of both sexes in a hospital in a lost fresco from her church in Cortona, now known from an eighteenth-century watercolor copy.[58] Adorning the walls of

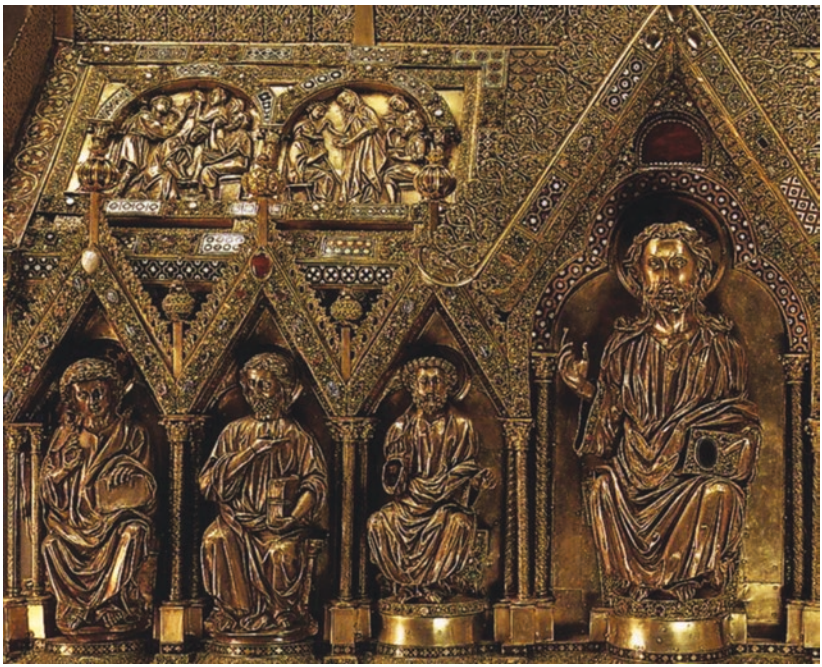


Fig. 4.5 *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Distributing Charity to the Poor*, c. 1250, Saint Elisabeth Shrine, Marburg Cathedral (photo: author)

the church dedicated to her, such a fresco advertised Margaret's piety to a wide public including pilgrims visiting her tomb. A similarly public monument accessible to pilgrims, the aforementioned Marburg shrine shows Elizabeth of Hungary feeding, clothing, and washing the feet of sick men. It is in narratives like these that the charitable actions of these female saints most closely mirror those of male saints such as Saint Louis, also famed for his charity. In the *Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux*, Saint Louis similarly washes the feet of the poor and feeds the sick (Fig. 4.1).[59] The giving of charity from women to men is perhaps sanctioned in these scenarios because these actions are performed in institutions. The charitable female saint is almost always shown among others, not alone. The presence of other women can be explained in part because such saints were frequently members of religious orders, as is the case with both Margaret and Elizabeth, who were Franciscan tertiaries. But laywomen were also

instructed to perform charity within the safety of institutions. Christine de Pizan confirms the propriety of noble women dispensing charity along with an entourage:

> Nor will the good lady, accompanied by her ladies, be ashamed occasionally to visit hospitals and the poor in their homes. Speaking to the poverty-stricken and the ill, touching them and gently comforting them, she will be distributing the greatest charity of all.[60]

Christine mentions the power of "touching" the sick is an act of charity in itself. Beyond providing comfort, the touch of saints could also heal.[61] Images of Margaret and Elizabeth touching the sick must have resonated with pilgrims who perhaps sought healing at the saints' shrines. The touching of sick men by women therefore becomes acceptable in the context of sanctity. Sick or infirm folk are also much more often shown as men rather than women in this late medieval period. These images therefore conform to the tendencies noted in the manuscript examples above. There was an apparent reluctance to show poor women with physical ailments, or perhaps a need to note the infirmity of men to mark them as unable to work and thus worthy of charity. Female saints who tended to sick men, possibly healing them with their pious touch, were therefore celebrated for a holiness that allowed them to transgress certain gender norms.

Conclusions

This essay takes recent scholarship on the poor in medieval art as its starting point, but paves a new path in its focus specifically on images of poor women in late medieval Europe. As a starting point for further studies of this large topic, my study asserts that medieval European visual and textual sources suggest that there were socially acceptable ways to both be poor and to serve the poor, but that these could differ according to one's gender. Legitimately poor men could be (and often were) physically infirm or sick, actively seeking alms at the front of crowds, while poor women instead tend to be portrayed more vaguely as widows or nuns who seek charity less assertively. The rare depictions of women as recipients of almsgiving suggest that the "deserving" female poor were defined by their sexuality, implied through marital status or affiliation with religious orders—they are pictured veiled, and thus widowed

and/or religious. Images of charitable giving that were directed towards female viewers, such as the examples from devotional manuscripts cited above, emphasize charity towards women, and thus poor women appear more frequently in the almsgiving scenes shown in such works. Although aimed at a wider public, images of female saints who embraced poverty voluntarily show similar tendencies in that the female saints tend to be shown giving charity directly to involuntarily poor women more often than to men. Female saints are more frequently shown performing charity towards men when depicted working in hospitals or other institutions designed to meet the physical needs of the destitute. All of this imagery is "ideological" in the sense that it reflects general societal beliefs about this "other," the female poor, as opposed to the reality. Surely sick and infirm women as well as prostitutes begged in city squares, and women must have transgressed gender divisions when performing acts of charity in any setting. The images I have surveyed here suggest, however, that the "deserving" female poor, whether recipients of charity or female saints who took vows of poverty, were defined by their sexuality. Their poverty is presented through motifs such as the veil that implied their marital status or affiliation with religious orders, rather than their place in the larger economy, as was the case with poor men. Although differentiated doubly as an "other," that is outside both mainstream (as poor) and male society (as female), the "deserving" poor woman as depicted in late medieval art, in fact serves to reinforce the identity of a male-dominated society.

Notes

1. I prefer the verb "othering" to the noun "the other," for it allows for broader categorization of the many ways in which individuals were distinguished as outside the mainstream. For a discussion of the Other and "othering," see Rowe, "Other," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 113–130. Studies on the poor in medieval art include Camille, "Laboring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History* 10 (1987): 423–454, and Alexander, "*Labeur* and *Paresse*: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 436–452. Guest, "A Discourse on the Poor: The Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux," *Viator* 26 (1995): 153–180. The theme is treated indirectly in Hahn, "*Peregrinatio* et *Natio*: The Illustrated Life of St Edmund, King and Martyr," *Gesta* 30 (1991): 119–139, and Levin,

"Advertising Charity in the Trecento: The Public Decorations of the Misericordia in Florence," *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996): 215–309.

2. Recent studies focusing on early modern images of poverty include: Higginson, "Fashioning the Poor in Sixteenth-Century Europe," *Art History* 33 (2010): 724–727; Nichols, "Secular Charity, Sacred Poverty: Picturing the Poor in Renaissance Venice," *Art History* 20 (2007): 139–169; Luttikhuisen and Silver, "The Quality of Mercy: Representations of Charity in Early Netherlandish Art," *Studies in Iconography* (2008): 216–248.
3. Historians have given more attention to the gendering of poverty, see for example Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002), 1–2, and Skinner, "Gender and Poverty in the Medieval Community," in *Medieval Women in Their Communities*, ed. Watt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 204–221.
4. See Feldman, "Otherness and Difference: The Perspective of Gender Theory," in *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism & Xenophobia*, ed. Wistrich, 168–182 as well as "Lindquist's "Introduction" in this volume". On concepts of the "other" in the Middle Ages more generally, see Michael Goodich, ed. and trans., *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols and Frojmovic, *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*.
5. Recent studies of the theme of charity or avarice personified in medieval art include van Asperen, "The Sheltering Cloak: Images of Charity and Mercy in Fourteenth-century Italy," Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture (2013): 262–280, Helas, "The Clothing of Poverty and Sanctity in Legends and their Representations in Trecento and Quattrocento Italy," in Rudy and Baert, eds. *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and Their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, 245–287; Derbes and Sandona, "Barren Metal and the Fruitful Womb: The Program of Giotto's Arena Chapel, Padua," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 274–291, and by the same authors, "*Ave charitate plena*": Variations on the Theme of Charity in the Arena Chapel," *Speculum* 76 (July 2001): 599–637, and The Userer's Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni and the Arena Chapel in Padua. On similar themes at Assisi, see Robson, "Judas and the Franciscans: Perfidy Pictured in Lorenzetti's Passion Cycle at Assisi," *Art Bulletin* 86 (March 2004): 31–57.
6. On wealthy women who took vows of religious poverty, see Pasztor, "Esperienza di povertà al femminile in Italia tra XII e XIV secolo," in

Pasztor, *Donne e sante: Studi sulla religiosità femminile nel Medio Evo* (Rome: Edizioni Studium, 2000), 131–149.

7. See Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, 245–246.
8. See Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Goldhammer, 211–234 for his discussion of pauperism as a problem of all classes. He offers a classification of groups of the poor for the later Middle Ages. See also "Introduction," in Flood, ed. *Poverty in the Middle Ages.*
9. See Paglia, *Storia dei Poveri in Occidente* and Ricci, *Povertà, vergogna, superbia: I declasati tra medioevo e età moderna*.
10. See Trexler, "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes," in *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History*, ed. Jaher, 64–109.
11. Mollat, 211–234.
12. Bonaventura, "*Meditationes Vitae Christi*" in *Opera Omnia*, ed. A.C. Peltier (Paris 1868) 12.565.
13. Quoted in Guest, 176.
14. Mollat, 197–210.
15. Ibid.
16. Guest, 173.
17. See also the discussion of images of beggars in Camille, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art*, 131–135.
18. For historical discussions of the relationship between the changing economy in late medieval Europe and the rise of religious poverty, see Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, similar studies of the relationship between religion and social history include the classic LeGoff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ranum, and Todeschini, *Il prezzo della salvezza: lessici medievali del pensiero economico.*
19. See Wolff, "Art as Ideology," in *The Social Production of Art.* 2nd edition, 50–54, 61 for the different interpretations of "ideology" both within and without the Marxist tradition, as well as Ricoeur, *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*, ed. George A. Taylor for a fuller discussion of the term.
20. Alexander, "Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Christian Art," *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993): 1–36.
21. See Alexander, "*Labeur*," 439–440, where he discusses the iconography of the female peasant exposing herself in the *Très Riches Heures.*
22. On the fluid and complex notions of gender in medieval society and in art, see Lindqust, "Gender," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 131–144. See also, for example, the discussion of gendered looking in the *Belles Heures* of the Duc de Berry in Easton, "Feminism," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 99–112.

23. For an excellent summary of traditional Christian arguments concerning the nature of women, see King and Rabil, Jr. "The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: Introduction to the Series," in Antonia Pulci, *Florentine Drama for Convent and Festival: Seven Sacred Plays* trans. Cook, ix–xxviii.
24. On such attitudes see the classic study, Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*.
25. See Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, 153, who remarks that women viewed themselves as weak and sinful, for example, a belief that stems not only from male-imposed societal values but from medieval interpretations of Biblical women such as Eve and Salome. However, because such widely accepted views about women were at times contradictory or inconsistent, I would also argue that there was some room for resistance, and that resistance came from both men and women.
26. See Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* Second Edition.
27. For a useful discussion of how gender norms could be disregarded in hagiography, see Cullum, "Gendering Charity in Medieval Hagiography," in Riches and Salih, eds. *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, 135–151.
28. The lack of female paupers in art is noted briefly by Guest, 156–158.
29. Lipton, "On the Non Iconography of the Jewess in the Cantigas de Santa Maria," *Jewish History* 22 (2008):139–177.
30. The female working poor thus do not enter into these scenes of almsgiving. On female labor see for example Guest, 162, on representations of women working, see Alexander, "'The Butcher, the Baker, The Candlestick Maker': Images of Urban Labor, Manufacture, and Shopkeeping from the Middle Ages," in *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms* ed. Perry, 90, 94–95. For discussions of female workers, see Uitz, *The Legend of Good Women: Medieval Women in Towns and Cities*, trans. Marnie, See also Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Women Servants in Florence during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara Hannawalt, 56–80, Muzzarelli, et al, *Donne et lavoro nell'Italia medievale*, and Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*.
31. Guest, 162.
32. See Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages*.
33. On this painting see Cannon and Vauchez, *Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti: Sienese Art and the Cult of a Holy Woman in Medieval Tuscany*, 265.

34. For a discussion of the pilgrims in terms of the context of this manuscript see Hahn, 122.
35. On women's costume and the significance of the veil, see Koslin, "The Dress of Monastic and Religious Women as Seen in Art from the Early Middle Ages to the Reformation," (Ph.D. diss., New York University. 1999).
36. On the three orders in medieval male society, see Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Jacques de Vitry and Gilbert of Tournai divided women into virgins, wives, widows. See Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, 113.
37. On the stigma of singleness for women see Sharon Farmer, "'It is not Good that [Wo]man Should be Alone:' Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris," in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800*, ed. Bennett and Froide, 82–105.
38. On hair as a negative gendered sign, see the essay by Elizabeth Fischer in this volume.
39. On this copy of the lost Herrad manuscript see von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, ed. Rosalie Green, as well as Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century.*
40. In certain contexts, as at Orsanmichele in Florence in the fourteenth century, women seem to have been designated to collect alms for their families, but such an exchange was acceptable only within the bounds of a charitable institution. See John, "Women, Children, and Poverty in Florence at the Time of the Black Death," in *Poor Women and Children in the European Past*, ed. John and Richard Wall, 160–179.
41. See Flora, "The Charity of the Virgin Mary in the Paris Meditations on the Life of Christ (BnF. Ital.115), *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008): 55–89.
42. See Warr, "The Striped Mantle of the Poor Clares: Image and Text in the Later Middle Ages," *Arte Cristiana* 86 (1998): 415–430.
43. On women as caregivers of orphans in medieval Florence, for example, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity.*
44. See Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Medieval Religious Women*, 150–169.
45. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. nouv. Acqu. Lat. 3145, folio 123 verso. On this manuscript see for example *Les fastes du gothique: Le siècle de Charles V.*
46. An example is in the Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux, margin of Folio 33. The theme appears in other types of book as well, for example, in a copy of the *Life of St Denis*, in which a woman leans out of her storefront to give a coin to a man with a baby on his back, reproduced in Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 131.

47. Sandler, "Pictorial and Verbal Play in the Margins: The Case of British Library, Stowe MS 49," in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters. Essays in Honor of Janet Backhouse*, ed. Brown and McKendrick, 54, remarks on the rarity of images of beggar women carrying infants. In her catalogue of marginal imagery, Randall cites only one example under "Beggarwomen," but many more examples under "Man with basket on back," and Beggar and child in sling on back." See Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts.*
48. For the way prayer books reflect the ideal roles of women in medieval society, see for example Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours*, The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture.
49. Christine de Pizan, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies.* trans. Willard, ed. Cosman, 88.
50. Matthew 6: 2–4, *The Bible*, Douay-Reims version (biblegateway.com).
51. Christine de Pizan, 87–90, cites scripture, including the Gospel of Luke's injunction to lay up treasures in heaven (Luke 12: 33–34), and Basil the Great as authorities promoting generosity toward the poor.
52. See Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* 48, 68, 81–86.
53. On female readers using prayerbooks as guides for conduct, see for example the classic study, Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* Vol. 7, No. 4 (Summer, 1982), 742–768.
54. See for example the discussion of Franciscan nuns in Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 406–416.
55. On Elizabeth's church in Marburg, see Leppin, *Die Elisabethkirche in Marburg an der Lahn.* On Margaret's church, see Cannon and Vauchez.
56. See Cullum, 135–151.
57. See Matthew 25: 34–40.
58. On works of art related to Margaret, see Cannon and Vauchez.
59. See extended discussion by Guest.
60. Christine de Pizan, 88.
61. On the connection of touch and healing see Baert, "Who Touched My Clothes?" The Healing of the Woman with a Haemorrhage (Mark 5:30) in *Interspaces between Word, Gaze and Touch: The Bible and the Visual Medium in the Middle Ages*, 35–61.

CHAPTER 5

Forms of Testimony in Dirk Bouts's *Justice of Otto III*

Jessen Kelly

In 1468, the city of Leuven commissioned a series of paintings from its most prominent painter, Dirk Bouts.[1] The works were to decorate Leuven's new town hall, a striking gothic structure then nearing completion. Specifically, the works were destined for display in what is now known as the Great Gothic Hall, an expansive space where aldermen may have heard legal cases and sat in judgment.[2] Bouts's works were to serve as *exempla iustitiae*, or examples of justice—stories of legal import that would inspire aldermen to reflect on the significance of their judicial duties and inspire the proper application of the law. *Exempla iustitiae* were but one species of the much broader category of exempla at the time. As tools of rhetoric, exempla employed religious or historical narratives as examples to persuade and instruct, often in the context of sermons or moral-religious texts.[3]

Although different in medium, visual exempla functioned analogously to their verbal counterparts, as Hugo van der Velden has shown.[4] In his writings on local law codes, the Flemish clerk of Brielle, Jan Matthijssen

J. Kelly (✉)
University of Utah, Salt Lake City, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_5

(died 1423) recommended that "judge's chambers should be furnished with pictures, and display good, old, wise adages conveying wisdom and knowledge, for it is said: seeing provokes reflection, and without a doubt this is true."[5] In the court of law, oral testimony and written evidence typically predominated, yet Matthijssen here grants visual media a specificity and specific efficacy. Nor was such imagery limited to judicial interests; the visual impact of a town hall's architecture and décor served to impress residents and visitors, structuring the experience of civic authority.

In keeping with these aims, the Leuven commission was conceived to emulate Rogier van der Weyden's widely renowned exempla in the similarly famed Brussels town hall: Rogier's *Justice of Trajan and Herkenbald* depicts two narratives, each related across two panels (known today only through a tapestry version in the Historisches Museum, Bern). Leuven authorities also requested four panels. However, Bouts had only completed nearly two panels, depicting one exemplum—*The Justice of Otto III*—prior to his death in 1475 (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2).[6] These paintings were ultimately installed in a smaller space adjacent to the Great Gothic Hall, whose precise function remains unclear.[7] Measuring nearly three and one-half meters high, the panels nevertheless appear to have been conceived for the larger space. Ornamental wooden frames, affixed to the panels prior to the painting process, integrate the scenes into the town hall's architectural and stylistic fabric, rendering them continuous with the structure's monumental authority.

Bouts's story, while ostensibly about the judgments of its titular male figure, places women and women's testimony at the center of its legal drama. The narrative, detailed below, relates a case of sexual transgression and defamatory words; it is a tangled tale of grave judicial error that is both instigated and amended by women's testimony. Yet the exemplum stages its concerns with legal judgment through concerns about gender, honor, and virtue. For late fifteenth-century audiences, Otto's story addressed a shifting and porous boundary between legal and social judgments of female behavior. Northern European law increasingly attacked activities (such as adultery and prostitution) thought to compromise ideals of modesty, chastity, and obedience within marital bonds.[8] Honor and reputation—that is, public estimation of one's behavior, character, and stature—accentuated and mediated a fluid terrain of social and legal scrutiny for men and women alike.[9] Male social worth was construed in terms of honor, which could be sourced from

Fig. 5.1 Dirk Bouts. *The Justice of Otto III: The Execution of the Innocent Count*, c. 1473–75. © Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels/photo: J. Geleyns—Ro scan

Fig. 5.2 Dirk Bouts. *The Justice of Otto III: The Trial by Fire*, c. 1471–3. © Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels/photo: J. Geleyns—Ro scan

professional, socio-economic, and political activities. This concept of honor had little bearing on women; instead a woman's reputation rested largely on perceptions of her sexual virtue—whether she was seen as modest or shameless and unchaste.[10] Shaped and conveyed through visible social comportment as well as the verbal praises and insults of others, honor and reputation constituted vital (and unstable) assets. By the later Middle Ages, they were also admissible as initial evidence in court proceedings.[11]

Legal evidence naturally endeavors to persuade. In the late medieval courtroom, words constituted the primary medium of evidence. Witnesses, although present before the judge's eyes, typically employed oral testimony to describe and narrate past events. This rhetorical use of narrative aligns testimony with *exempla*. Bouts's panels, however, narrate through images, which separates them from the dominant medium of the courtroom context.

Drawing attention to the portrayal of gender in Bouts's panels, Diane Wolfthal has argued that, among their multiple lessons, the works encourage a judicial view of women as lustful perpetrators and deceitful witnesses in cases of sexual assault.[12] By returning to themes of gender, otherness, and sexuality in these works, I suggest that it is not simply the veracity of gendered testimony that is at issue. *The Justice of Otto III* conjoins credibility to gendered, normative constructions of honor and reputation. Bouts's painted narrative underscores the use of distinctive media in his exemplum. In this story, words can kill. But pictures, by their very nature, cannot speak. This silence evokes ideals of feminine behavior that identify modesty and propriety with minimal speech—the commonplace notion that respectable women were better seen than heard.[13] As W. J. T. Mitchell has observed, similar prevalent commonplaces have consistently identified marginalized groups and others with silence and the visual; they stem from "a tacit assumption of the superiority of words to visual images" in Western culture.[14] In its narrative presentation of gender and testimony, *The Justice of Otto III* affirms the evidentiary value of honor, but does so in a way that engages with the value of the visual medium and its potential otherness in relation to words. Through the image of the narrative's key female witness, the images provoke insight and judgment on their own gendered authority.

The Justice of Otto III: Narrative, Sources, and Audiences

The Leuven panels depict a rather obscure story, one that has no known precedents in the visual arts.[15] Although rare, the tale is recounted in a range of textual sources. It first appears in the *Pantheon*, a late twelfth-century chronicle by Godfrey of Viterbo.[16] The story is also related in Jacobus de Voraigne's *Golden Legend* (where it is embedded in an extended digression in the life of St. Pelagius) and in a fifteenth-century Middle Dutch devotional manuscript, the *Spieghel der Biechten* (or *Mirror of Confession*).[17] Exploring these versions of the narrative will clarify its key elements.

Although the story concerns an actual historical personage—the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III (ruled 996-1002 C.E.)—it is almost certainly a fiction. According to the texts, Otto's (unnamed) wife desired a certain count and tried to seduce him. When the count rejected her advances, the empress became vengeful and defamed the count to her husband. The texts do not specify the content of this defamation, but they strongly imply that she falsely accused him of sexual impropriety or assault. As Godfrey colorfully puts it, the empress, "when spurned, states her unspeakable desires."[18] Enraged by his wife's allegations, Otto ordered the count beheaded without trial. Prior to his execution, the count maintained his blamelessness to his wife and asked that she posthumously clear his name. The widowed countess went before Otto as he sat in judgment, bearing her husband's severed head and proclaiming his innocence. When she successfully passed a trial or ordeal by hot iron, the emperor realized that he had indeed wrongfully executed the count. Acknowledging his culpability, Otto prepared himself for his own punishment. However, the empress's guilt was soon revealed and Otto condemned her to burn at the stake for her crime, thus concluding a tale of justice tainted and restored.

The drama pivots on the empress's false accusation and the countertestimony it provokes. Thus the story offered a number of exhortations to a specialized legal-political audience such as the Leuven aldermen. Otto, the highest judicial authority in his realm, rashly circumvented proper legal procedures and allowed familial bonds to compromise his impartiality. Yet, in addition to warnings against impulsiveness, the story highlights the judge's interpretive duties. When Godfrey composed this story, European law was increasingly preoccupied with developing

reasoned approaches to evidence and testimony.[19] The use of ordeals declined as a new concept of the earthly judge as a "seeker after truth" began to emerge.[20] In his recklessness, Otto neglected the most basic principles of proof and evidence espoused by medieval jurists, which stressed careful evaluation in order to eliminate reasonable doubt.[21] Criminal cases should be held to an especially exacting standard due to the capital consequences; two eyewitnesses were generally required for conviction.[22] Otto's initial judgment falls well short of this standard.

But themes of legal judgment intersect and compete with gendered concepts of honor and reputation. If justice is subject to vicissitudes, the men and women in the story all experience shifts in personal reputation over the course of the story. For instance, the count demonstrates the importance and fragility of male honor, as his "good name" must be redeemed even after his irrevocable demise. Otto's professional error compromises his honor, a misstep linked to his overestimation of his wife's good repute, which, in turn, suffers with the discovery of her guilt. Like justice, honor is an effect of judgment and persuasion, as each character has a stake in portraying a certain version of events, centered on a dishonorable sexual transgression.

This emphasis on honor broadens the story's significance and appeal within the spaces of the town hall. For non-specialized audiences, assessments of gender and reputation formed a kind of practical knowledge and a routine aspect of social life, even if legal practices and methods of proof did not.[23] The story's eclectic textual iterations also imply an expansive audience with different but equally potent investments in social honor. Godfrey's chronicle speaks to educated and politically elite readers by vaunting imperial authority; by contrast, *The Golden Legend* was one of the most popular volumes of the Middle Ages.[24] The *Spieghel der Biechten* constitutes the only instance I know of in which Otto's story is explicitly packaged as an exemplum. Early in its history, the manuscript also belonged to a Utrecht convent and therefore addressed a female audience.[25] From this, we might postulate a similarly wide viewership for Bouts's panels at the Leuven town hall, one that includes not only aldermen, but also men and women in court, various civic authorities, and visiting notables.

If these viewers were already familiar with the tale, they could have previously encountered it through spoken rather than written words. As an exemplum, the story may have been adapted for use in sermons; Godfrey's vibrant language and use of direct discourse implies its

proclivity for oral performance. It is fitting that a narrative concerned with the efficacy and authority of speech should lend itself to oral presentation. Through Bouts's panels, the story entered the town hall's spaces of oral exchange and legal testimony—not as words, but as mute pictures, devoid of textual accompaniment. Unlike Rogier's justice panels in Brussels, Bouts's exemplum was apparently conceptualized and initially displayed without explanatory inscriptions. Extended rhymed verses detailing the story were not commissioned until the late sixteenth century.[26] Thus, the paintings had to persuade and instruct viewers through pictorial means. We will follow the artist's interpretation of the narrative, examining how the medium configures the lessons of honor, gender, and adherence to the law.

Structures of Judgment

In representing this story as *exemplum iustitae*, Bouts's images revise aspects of the textual accounts, highlighting the female witness as moral protagonist. The first panel situates events in a landscape just beyond city and castle walls (Fig. 5.1). The texts define the setting as Modena or Rome, but the distant painted cityscape evokes fifteenth-century Flanders. Although the landscape appears unified, it actually hosts multiple narrative scenes. At left, the condemned count, attended by his wife and sartorially divested of his elite status, moves along a path from the city gates in the upper left toward the site of impending execution in the foreground. On this route, accompanying male figures link distant and proximate spaces, creating the impression of an unbroken procession that terminates in the count's decapitated body at the lower edge of the panel. Standing over the bleeding corpse, the executioner hands the count's head to the newly widowed countess.

Unlike the textual versions, which pithily state the fact of the count's death, the artist dwells on the details of the beheaded body. The gruesome, monstrous display appears calculated to absorb spectators into the scene, since, as Wolfthal has observed, the count's gaping neck wound tilts toward the picture plane.[27] Additionally, an entourage of male figures encircles the executioner and corpse, highlighting the count's violent demise and defining it as spectacle to behold. Two well-dressed men flank the lifeless body in the immediate foreground—the gentleman at right is turned toward the viewer, gazing at the executed count, the leftmost figure is seen from behind. This arrangement produces

the impression that the circle of onlookers has parted to incorporate the viewer.

If viewers are interpolated as witnesses to the wrongful punishment, Otto and his wife assume a more ambiguous relationship to the surrounding events. Positioned in the upper right and cordoned off from the foreground by the castle's crenelated wall, they seem to constitute internal viewers, taking in the beheading from their fortified estate. However, their spatial remove, combined with the empress's raised hand and open mouth, imply that their presence at the execution is also compounded with a prior moment in the narrative—that of the empress's verbal treachery against the object of her desire.

Chronologically, the empress's false accusation is the earliest incident depicted from the story. The artist has truncated the tale, shifting its starting point from the empress's unsuccessful seduction of the count to her false defamations. Bouts's pictorial version thus produces a significant narrative casualty. Written accounts invariably insist on the empress's amorous longings *and* their impropriety. In the *Pantheon*, for example, Godfrey vividly evokes a spicy state of affairs in which the empress was aroused by the sight of the handsome count, and "secretly desire[d] to violate the [emperor's] marriage bed."[28] According to Godfrey, the empress even disrobed the count, who quickly withdrew from this unwanted advance, minus his clothes.[29] The comparatively dry Jacobus notes that the empress "wished to prostitute herself," while the *Spieghel* immediately states that the empress was *onghetrouwe*, or unfaithful.[30] In each case, the empress embodies the trope of women's perceived potential for undisciplined carnal appetites, other aspects of which Michelle Moseley-Christian examines in this volume.[31] These descriptions clearly paint the empress as unchaste and insubordinate, while additionally establishing the motivation for her subsequent vengeful words.

From the start, then, the texts eliminate any reasonable doubt regarding the empress's iniquity and guilt. In the Leuven justice panels, however, the absence of such adulterous solicitations modifies the audience's relationship to the crime story. Although spectators serve as eyewitnesses to the defamation and unjust execution of the count, they have no such access to the empress's sexual transgression and her guilt is not immediately evident. Further, the texts' overt emphasis on wanton feminine sexuality is significantly delimited, even for viewers familiar with the tale. To be sure, Bouts places a rather porous enclosed garden in the landscape behind the speaking empress, perhaps a travesty of a traditional symbol

of the Virgin's purity. Yet he does not adapt the conventions of existing narrative imagery, such as that of Joseph and Potiphar's wife—a story that informed Godfrey's telling and would have clarified the empress's dishonor.[32]

So far, I have prioritized the panels' approach to narrative sequence. But meaning is produced in other ways, as well. Scholars have noted the prevalence of visual juxtaposition in Bouts's exemplum.[33] This strategy is especially evident, for example, in the divergent settings of the two paintings. The outdoor locale of the first image contrasts sharply with the imperial court in the second picture, with its intricate marble tiles. The dramatic distinction between inside and outside visually imparts the restoration of justice in the proper spaces of the law. Visual juxtaposition also comprises a tactic within individual panels. Each painting employs compositional and framing devices that help organize the expansive pictorial space into analogous zones, which can be easily compared by the viewer. The wooden tracery frames play an important part here: their symmetrical, pointed arches institute two parallel vertical sectors, separated by the implied central axis along the frames' intermediate ornamental node.

Facilitating a comparative mode of looking, these juxtapositions assign viewers a judicial role. To return to the first painting, the wooden traceries effectively isolate and contrast two competing testimonies: on the right, under the canopy of the frame's pointed arch, the empress speaks to Otto about the count's alleged misdeeds. At left, however, the count asserts his innocence to his wife and instructs her to do the same. Thus *The Justice of Otto III* eliminates the scene of adulterous sexual intrigue in favor of these visually parallel yet substantively adversarial testimonies *about* it. As spectators, we are invited to evaluate the credibility and character of the accuser and defendant. Our position mimics the interpretive quandary of the judge, who likewise has no direct access to what "really happened" and must rely on the testimonies before the court.

The viewer's judicial identity is enhanced by the entourage of male figures who populate the opening panel. Displaying distinctive facial features, these are likely portraits of Leuven aldermen who would sit in judgment at the town hall.[34] We are simultaneously included in the image as witnesses at the execution and legal authorities. In this scene, the two witnesses technically speak outside of the court of law. But the aldermen's depiction and the panels' display in the town hall nevertheless impart an aura of legal testimony to the speech acts. While contrary

to the narrative's didactic aims, this spatial context nevertheless affirms the evidential value of reputation and social judgments. Indeed, perhaps precisely because the criminal acts against the count occur outside of the courtroom, the scene presents itself to the Leuven community as an opportunity for social evaluations of honor, and, indeed, affirms the legal import of such judgments. The very portrayal of the aldermen anticipates the community's normative gaze, as it commemorates their status as judicial authorities and as a source of public and professional esteem.

Yet, by setting the utterances of count and empress against one another, Bouts's image also highlights its own limitations with respect to orality and aurality. Pictures can evoke the act of speaking, but they are hard pressed to visually impart the content of speech. As viewers and judges, we are therefore confronted with two parallel yet silent communications, distinguished primarily by their gendered, embodied origin—a case of "he said, she said." Even before the wider advent of the Renaissance debates on *ut picture poesis*, the Leuven panels mobilize the respective capacities of the verbal versus the visual, and by extension, their own place within this contested hierarchy.[35] Would the *image* of these two witnesses suffice to indicate the sexual indiscretions at stake in their discourse? Could a fifteenth-century spectator judge the empress's wantonness and deceit in the absence of direct eyewitness confirmation? The artist's use of visual juxtaposition is not simply a method to provoke judgements; it also serves to construct gendered difference or otherness as an aid to judgment. Necessarily stifling oral communication, Bouts's pictures exemplify the weight accorded to gendered signs of virtue and good repute as the basis of authority.

Representing the Female Witness

By juxtaposing the count's spoken testimony with that of the empress, the first image calls attention to their differing social statures, magnified by the count's plain white tunic or penitent's robe. But social difference is upstaged by gender difference in the panels' persuasive enterprise. Setting the figures against one another, Bouts underscored the longstanding construction of women's otherness in the eyes of the law—a discrete class of persons defined as such by particularly "feminine" defects.[36] Speech and testimony crucially marked and upheld this unequal status. Wolfthal's assertion that the Leuven panels promulgate women's deceitfulness should be considered in relation to prevalent

ideas about female talk and the panels' elision of the empress's lustful dishonesty. In medieval and early modern Europe, dubious speech was generally viewed as a feminine phenomenon; further, legal discourse and imagery tended to associate women's speech with immodesty and thus dishonor, registered in bodily behavior.

Late medieval Flanders, as Ellen Kittell has shown, witnessed a significant increase in the prosecution of women for crimes involving actionable words—slander, insults, verbal threats, and the like. This marginalization and criminalization thereby helped cement broader perceptions of feminine "verbal irresponsibility."[37] But if female speech outside of the courtroom was subject to prosecution, legal codes and theorists also advocated restrictions on women's verbal action in court. Indeed, some theorists questioned whether women should be able to serve as witnesses at all, due to feminine fragility and inconstancy.[38] While legal ordinances naturally varied throughout northern Europe, practices of guardianship adapted from Roman law sometimes placed limitations on women's ability to speak for or represent themselves or others in court.[39] For instance, traditions of Saxon law, recorded and disseminated through numerous copies of the *Sachsenspiegel* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, promoted the use of male guardians for women's legal action.[40] Socially, such dictates have a broader analogue in medieval etiquette manuals that recommended a taciturn demeanor as a hallmark of feminine propriety.[41]

By suppressing oral discourse, pictures also effectively convey the ways in which speech compromised honor: the communicative burden shifts to the body, which serves as the source of discourse and the potential site of immodesty. The very image of the speaking empress could cast doubt on her reliability and signify her ill-repute for viewers. Visual depictions of female witnesses demonstrate the incompatibility between legal authority and virtuous behavior. For example, in an examination of women as witnesses in illustrated copies of the *Sachsenspiegel*, Madeline Caviness and Charles Nelson have called attention to the legend of a woman named Calpurnia, whose case was cited to justify the practice of male guardianship.[42] Adapted from Justinian's *Digest*, the story relates how a certain woman acted in a "shameless" fashion before the judge. Henceforth, the *Digest* declared, women were not permitted 'to make applications on behalf of others' as this was 'contrary to the modesty in keeping with their sex'; to allow such applications would essentially permit women to carry out 'the actions of men.'"[43] As Caviness and Nelson observe, the *Sachsenspiegel* illustrations pair Calpurnia's verbal impudence with coarse bodily exposure—in

Fig. 5.3 Calpurnia confronts the royal judge, fol. 34v, Eike von Repgow, *Sachsenspiegel*, c. 1350. Staatsbibliothek, Dresden, Mscr.Dresd.M.32. Photocourtesy SLUB Dresden/Deutsche Fotothek

short, Calpurnia mooned the judge. One illustration depicts Calpurnia, her large index finger raised in a gesture of "authoritative" speech, moving into the judge's space as lines emanating from her buttocks signify the indecent act (Fig. 5.3).[44] The angle of her index finger echoes and amplifies that of her veering figure, as if the signs of speech have escaped their proper confines (the hand) to affect the entire body. Calpurnia's backside occupies the central axis of the illuminated frieze and competes with her hand for visual attention. In this image, speech is identified with and undermined by wayward physical comportment.[45] The communicative power of this comportment exceeds the actual content of Calpurnia's speech, which the text never mentions.

A fragment of an altarpiece depicting the life of St. Lucy, produced in Bruges and dated 1480, offers another model of the female witness, one that demonstrates the difficulties of integrating the signs of authoritative speech with feminine modesty (Fig. 5.4). Lucy, having declared her Christian faith and desire for chastity, was summoned before the

Fig. 5.4 Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, *Scenes from the Life of St. Lucy*, 1480. Sint-Jacobskerk, Bruges. © KIK-IRPA, Brussels, X046771

Roman magistrate Paschasius. The triptych grants center stage to the scene of legal confrontation, where, according to *The Golden Legend*, Lucy defended her faith and desire to remain a virgin in an extended verbal disputation. Unlike Calpurnia, Lucy maintains her distance from the judge, even in the compressed space of the vignette. While her gestures indicate speech, they are not permitted pictorial emphasis; rather, they are echoed and contained by the surrounding henchmen. The saint appears far more emphatic at left, outside of court, where she raises her index finger to signal interaction with her mother. In the central scene, it seems, the bodily signs of testimony must be visually diluted if the saint is to cut a convincing figure of virtue.

In any case, Lucy's words do not convince the pagan judge, who condemns her to a brothel. But the saint's body ultimately testifies to the authority of chaste femininity and the Christian faith. At right, the Holy Spirit miraculously immobilizes Lucy's body and even a team of oxen cannot drag her to the bordello. This scene is staged in an expansive landscape, with the Bruges cityscape visible in the upper left. The panel proposes an analogy between the virgin saint's immobile body and the monumental architecture of the Flemish city, dominated by the tower of the Church of Our Lady. The virgin martyr's body offers its testimony under the rubric of the urban environment, framing her virtue as a matter of public reputation and regard.

These images suggest that the act of speaking might imperil the female body's perceived rectitude. While this bodes ill for the empress, Bouts's panels do not give her the last word.

The Ordeal and Its Image

Given these constructions of women's legal speech, it is remarkable that textual versions of Otto's story include a critical instance of oral testimony by the widowed countess. When the countess went before Otto in court, she spoke avidly in defense of her executed husband. Godfrey offers an especially detailed and striking account of this scene:

> [The countess] said to him: "Tell me, what penalty does the law permit for the guilty […] when a man is unjustly killed?" Otto responded: "It is lawfully permitted to take his head." She responded: "Your sentence condemns you, Caesar; I will show by my charge that you murdered my husband fraudulently; if you want laws to be observed, then it befits you to die." She fell silent. The king [i.e., Otto] was shocked, and said to the lady: "You are seeking after something, nor do you seem to have reported the truth, for who will be the witness for this charge?" "Look, the head of the earl [i.e., the count] is at hand," the countess said; "he perished by your error, recognize your own guilt, and acknowledge that the judgment was passed with your support." The king said: "The earl deserved death for his crime." She denies this, desiring to face her fiery fate; the king prepared the fire, and so the woman wins.[46]

Here, the countess wields legal speech to subvert and appropriate Otto's position as judge—as Godfrey puts it, she "spoke skillfully, according to the custom of the place."[47] Her testimony effectively transforms the emperor from imperial judicial authority to incriminated witness. The texts do not shy away from the significance of this gendered power reversal. Jacobus, for instance, notes that Otto was "overwhelmed" by the countess; Godfrey observes that the ruler was caught in the snares of justice, and placed himself "in the woman's hands" to be punished.[48]

But just as Paschasius remained unswayed by St. Lucy's words, Otto is initially skeptical in the face of the countess's discourse. Questioning her trustworthiness, he holds fast to his original judgment and only accepts the widow's story once she has undergone the ordeal by fire or hot iron. As legal procedures in medieval Europe, ordeals invoked divine authority by submitting the accused to physical duress. God, it was believed, would intervene to miraculously protect or heal the blameless.[49] Trials by fire, water, and battle construed the defendant's body as the medium of testimony whereby God renders his own verdict discernible. In the narrative, then, the ordeal converts the countess's body into a visible sign

of God's infallible judgment on the worldly misdeeds. Her authority is validated through that of the divine.

Whereas the text of the *Pantheon* highlights the extended oral exchange between countess and emperor, Bouts's second panel entirely bypasses their spoken dialogue in favor of the image of the ordeal. Thus, despite the prevalence of visual juxtapositions throughout the two paintings, the artist does not attempt to compare the countess's speech with that of the empress in the first panel. Perhaps the image of female talk produced far too negative or precarious connotations and, therefore, the women's respective utterances could not be submitted to viewers' judgments.

Eschewing the difficulties of depicting speech—and, in particular, women's authoritative legal speech—Bouts concentrates instead on something that images do much better: visual spectacle. Indeed, the second panel exploits and manipulates the ordeal's penchant for theatrical display in its presentation of the mute female witness within the spaces of political power. Like the first panel, this scene is staffed with portraits of local authorities. But, in this case, Bouts has significantly reduced the figural clutter and narrative scenes. The composition prominently situates the countess opposite the Holy Roman Emperor. Both figures sport reddish garments that emphasize their interaction in relation to the surrounding scene. Similarly, the glowing red iron occupies a central location in the image, and stands out against neutral beige and dark tones. These pictorial strategies concentrate visual attention on the ordeal and grant it a vivid immediacy. The apparent instantaneousness of the divine verdict, evident in the countess's unscathed hand, promotes its status as the visual climax of the painted narrative. As Wolfthal has pointed out, however, actual practice dictated that the inevitable burns and wounds were typically checked for festering after a few days had passed. Bouts has therefore taken clear historical liberties to heighten the drama of his visualized version of events.[50]

What began as a story of "he said, she said" now appears as a tale of two forms of testimony—the false and ineffectual speech acts of the first panel are set against the incontrovertible visible and corporeal evidence in the second panel. In this structure of difference, the images elevate the countess's ordeal as a moment of revelatory truth while also silencing, via omission, her spoken discourse with the emperor. Yet the second panel retains a certain vestige of the countess's verbal testimony. Though she kneels in deference to Otto, the countess holds the hot iron forward,

such that it violates the boundary of judge's pedestal and the central axis. The iron rod itself evokes the pointing gesture that traditionally served as a pictorial signifier of speech, as in the illustrated *Sachsenspiegel*. More Calpurnia than Lucy, the countess wields the iron as kind of prosthetic index finger, addressing the emperor with an insistence that suggests an unsettling of judicial authority. While the countess does not speak in the painting, the ordeal is presented as a communicative act that breaches conventions of feminine behavior in court.

If the ordeal constitutes a form of testimony and communication, how would it signify for fifteenth-century viewers? Despite its ostensible immediacy and clarity, the countess's ordeal actually plays convoluted and somewhat contradictory roles in the development of the pictorial narrative. Bouts's treatment of the ordeal introduces ambivalent configurations of gender, representation, and reputation. In textual accounts of the story, the countess not only speaks, she effectively speaks *for* her husband and represents his interests in court. By speaking and taking action on the count's behalf, the countess in essence flouts the dictates of the *Sachsenspiegel* and related traditions of legal guardianship, in which women could not advocate for themselves or others but rather relied on a male guardian to represent them before the law.

The image of the countess's ordeal negotiates signs of gender in order to visually represent this dynamic. Clutching her husband's severed head, the countess enlists his rather macabre presence at the proceedings. Her veil curves to frame and emphasize the lifeless bodily fragment, which is tilted upwards toward the emperor, his now silenced mouth grimly ajar. The inclusion of the head also aligns the bodies of count and countess, as if to insist that her physical ordeal is undertaken and stands for his character. The hot iron also exhibits a marked phallic quality, enhanced through its proximity to multiple similar forms, sported as accoutrements by the men at Otto's court—swords, canes, and scepters. The elongated iron rod signals the countess's ability to engage with this otherwise male space of political and judicial power. To represent her husband and communicate authoritatively as a witness, the countess must adopt the signs of corporeal masculinity. Indeed, the weight of her testimony perhaps derives from such signs.

The depiction of the ordeal seems to construe the countess's testimony as masculine, but the procedure itself also carried connotations that diverge from this assessment. Although applied in a range of situations, the ordeal was most often assigned to the accused rather than

to witnesses.[51] Further, ordeals by fire were strongly associated with women accused of sexual crimes and, in particular, adultery.[52] In such cases, the female body served as the site of both suspicion and proof; the perceived efficacy of the procedure lay in this closed circuit, in which the instrument of transgression was also the instrument of revelation.[53] Medieval romances were replete with dramatic instances of presumed adulteresses (often of high social rank) who underwent ordeals by fire Ordeals (Trial By Fire).[54] Bouts's decision to emphasize the physicality of the countess's ordeal may well have been informed by the ongoing popularity of this literary tradition.

The narrative positions the countess as a witness for her husband. Yet, by constructing her ordeal as the culmination of the pictorial account, the Leuven justice panels also simultaneously cast the countess in another role—that of the accused adulteress. The implication of ill-repute is perhaps magnified by the countess's resemblance to the iconography of Salome, who similarly appears before a ruler, severed head in hand.[55] In effect, the countess is positioned as the legal representative, not only of her husband's innocence, but also her own sexual virtue. Even as she implements phallic insignia that masculinizes her corporeal testimony, the countess passes the ordeal and demonstrates her conformity to expectations of feminine virtue and bodily comportment.

While the image of the empress's speech hints at her wanton and deceptive deeds, the trial by fire clearly foregrounds themes of illicit sexual conduct. In the second panel, the use of visual juxtaposition essentially redefines the central legal dispute, pitting the countess against the empress in a contest of feminine virtue. The wooden tracery divides the countess's ordeal at left from the empress's execution in the upper right. In Otto's court, the virtuous female body, clad in fur-trimmed attire, maintains its integrity in relation to the hot iron, whose fiery origins can be traced to the bed of embers featured in the immediate foreground. In the background, the adulterous body cannot overcome the punitive blaze.[56] The empress's regalia has been replaced by plain dress, a social demotion that reinforces her difference from the countess, a dishonorable other to the countess's propriety. Their respective bodily fate and presentation testify to the nature of the crime at issue.

But what about the count? Although he is visibly present via his severed head, the accentuation of the ordeal, with its overtones of female adultery, threatens to override both his significance and vindication within the narrative. His purported crime potentially gives way

to inferences regarding his wife's virtue and marital fidelity. While we might perceive the alleged sexual misdeeds of count and countess as distinct legal cases, the logic of honor and reputation would have intimately connected them for medieval and early modern viewers—herein lies the clarity of the count's apparent crime as well as his exoneration.

As we have seen, European legal sources like the *Sachsenspiegel* often restricted women's ability to speak for or represent themselves and others in court, due to concerns of modesty and propriety. Yet it was precisely through modesty and propriety that a woman could effectively represent her husband in a broader sense. Historians of medieval and early modern Europe, drawing on insights from anthropology, have consistently noted that a wife's sexual reputation formed one of the most potent indicators of male honor.[57] A man with an adulterous wife elicited harsh social judgment and mockery; the inability to control a female spouse could significantly diminish a man's stature in the public eye. To call a man a "cuckold" thus constituted an injurious affront.[58] By the same token, a modest, virtuous, and faithful wife enhanced her husband's honor and bore witness to his authority.[59]

Given the gendered circuits of honor, the ordeal, as divinely-sanctioned proof of the countess's faithfulness, serves as the vehicle for her husband's exculpation. Her honesty and good repute would have clearly conveyed the count's honor, which, in this case, itself stands in for innocence. Moreover, by positioning the countess as a defendant of her own virtuous reputation, the Leuven panels attempt to manage the difficulties of representing male sexual conduct in this context. If a woman's infidelity brought shame upon herself and her husband, the consequences of male sexual misconduct were less clear cut. Men of course could be subjected to legal action and general discredit for sexual crimes during the period—the exemplum narrative speaks to this possibility. However, male transgressions and infidelities were not easily registered in their social identities or reputation. Indeed, male sexual behavior was largely exempt from the dyadic constructions of chastity and unchastity, virtue and vice that defined female repute. As Laura Gowing has observed in her study of gender in early modern London, women could be denigrated as "whores," but male promiscuity and adultery lacked a corresponding insult with corresponding reputational damage.[60] Similarly, the preoccupation with feminine purity had no equivalent for men; terms or concepts for male sexual probity were largely unavailable and, indeed, unwarranted in light of cultural concepts of masculine reputation.

Thus, if the Leuven justice panels can credibly exonerate the count from accusations of adulterous sexual impropriety, they must rely on the evidence of his wife's body and purity. In the absence of any direct pictorial account of the alleged misdoing, the mechanics of gender and honor enabled viewers to judge the count's honor. An honorable member of the nobility would never betray his ruler by appropriating his wife. Further, without a clear lexicon for male propriety versus impropriety, the count's innocence cannot be assimilated into the panel's structure of juxtaposition—instead, it must be articulated through the stark duality of female honesty and dishonesty. Bouts's dramatic depiction of the ordeal, with its mix of gendered signs, attempts to negotiate this representational quandary, even as it registers the extent to which male sexual behavior typically escaped scrutiny and judgment.[61]

Because the panels prioritize evidence of reputation and honor visibly displayed, the image of the empress presents certain problems for the pictorial narrative. If there is a cuckold in this story, naturally it is Otto, who is initially ignorant of his wife's roving eye. While Godfrey's text praises Otto for his willingness to reexamine his verdict and submit himself to just punishment, the paintings remain rather ambivalent as to how spectators should judge the emperor. The omission of the empress's adulterous advances in the first panel, her social demotion and diminutive punishment in the second—these may well comprise visual strategies for minimizing the dishonor she imparts to her husband.

This technique is in keeping with the prosecution of female adultery in Flanders at the time. Despite the increasing legal emphasis on feminine virtues of chastity and obedience, Mariann Naessens's research suggests that women were seldom taken to court for adultery.[62] This absence, she argues, can be ascribed to the grave consequences of female adultery for a husband's honor. Such cases were likely handled out of court or kept secret, as prosecution would bring the husband's cuckoldry to the attention of the wider community.[63] Bouts's panels may imply the empress's immodesty via her speech act, but, by treating her adulterous actions furtively, they attempt to control its visible damage on the imperial judge. Indeed, when the verses commissioned for the panels in the later sixteenth century took care to specify that the empress's execution restored Otto's honor, perhaps because such honor was not sufficiently clear in the images themselves.[64]

The specter of Otto's sexual dishonor, however, opens onto the panels' larger depiction of masculinity. While *The Justice of Otto III* expresses

a largely conventional view of femininity, its image of redeemed male judicial authority remains rather unpersuasive. The texts describe the empress's execution as wise and just, yet Bouts depicts Otto as a largely passive figure.[65] In the second panel, the instantaneousness of the ordeal eliminates any indication of Otto's agency: according to Jacobus and the *Spieghel*, Otto contemplated the case for many days before determining his wife's guilt.[66] Such interpretive care and reflection, so esteemed by legal theorists and key to Otto's redemption and exemplary potential, have been omitted from the pictorial narrative. Here, women determine the direction of the plot, as well as the discourse on male honor. Although the countess does not escape the viewer's judicial assessments, she nevertheless steals the final scene, emerging as the most efficacious witness and judge.

Words and Pictures

The Justice of Otto III marshals themes of gender, honor, and virtue in legal spaces at a moment when the law increasingly concerned itself with such matters. The panels would seem to promulgate the conventional suspicion and even suppression of women's legal speech. To be sure, the exemplum narrative highlights the power of words (and, in this case, women's words) to defame and destroy. But, among its potential aims and lessons, the painted exemplum validates evidence seen over evidence spoken and heard. Juxtaposing these two forms of testimony across the two panels, Bouts's paintings call attention to the nature and value of the pictorial medium. In this way, the work is implicated in the narrative and its discourse on gender. If the empress and the countess present two conflicting stories before the law, the justice panels, as an exemplum, have their own tale to tell and a stake in this tale's efficacy. Like the witnesses they portray, the paintings seek to narrate and persuade their audiences in the context of the courtroom.

Assigning substantial visual and narrative gravity to the countess's ordeal, the panels expose their own identification with her mode of testimony. Given that this particular exemplum had little or no pictorial precedents, Bouts's predicament as an artist resounded with that of the countess at Otto's court: the artist had to strategically impart events heretofore conveyed only through words. This perhaps produced a special consciousness of how the story itself conjoins questions of medium, authority, and power.

In the second panel, for instance, the visual prominence of the ordeal highlights the limits of words as a medium of communication and insight. Textual sources typically relate the countess's trial by fire in brief, matter-of-fact fashion. Even the loquacious Godfrey, who evocatively describes the ordeal as a "fiery fate," tersely relates the actual event: "and so the woman wins."[67] By contrast, the pictorial format allows the painter to showcase the ordeal as truth revealed and visibly, corporeally displayed. Bouts's account seizes and elaborates the narrative at the moment where the texts' descriptive facility wavers. In this respect, the painter's recourse to the ordeal mimics the rationale of its legal invocation in the Middle Ages: because divine intervention was not to be trifled with, authorities only resorted to ordeals when traditional forms of evidence, such as oral testimony and oath-taking, could not be obtained or failed to eliminate reasonable doubt.[68] The Leuven aldermen emphasize the specifically visual engagement and impact of this spectacle. Partially encircling the countess, their gazes converge on her ordeal. The gentleman standing second from the left points toward the hot iron while peering back at viewers, conscripting them into this milieu of courtly observers. The aldermen's astonished gestures heighten beholders' involvement with the scene and further testify to the dramatic weight of the visual display.

The portraits of Leuven authorities instill the second panel with an air of historical authenticity, such that the countess's divinely-sanctioned testimony collaborates with more worldly signs to insist on the panels' own credibility. Bouts pulls out the artistic stops in this concluding painting, the image of truth recognized and justice reinstated. The inconsistent landscape of the first scene has given way to a more rigorous perspectival space. As one of the only Netherlandish artists who used linear perspective at the time, Bouts flaunts his distinctive skill through the elaborate patterned tile floor.[69] Moreover, the wooden tracery frames have been duplicated in the panel itself: the painted double arches mark the far threshold of Otto's imperial court, just as the actual wooden arches define the boundary between viewer and image in the Leuven town hall. These illusionistic techniques enhance the impression of a navigable spatial extension of the Flemish civic structure, with its analogous ornamentation.[70] At the same time, however, the panels' oak archways institute a barrier between beholder and depiction, framing the scenes as representations, a recounting of historical events rather than their tangible presence. At issue is the ability of painting to impress

its account on the viewer, to "promote reflection" and convey wisdom. The image of the countess's ordeal asserts that there is truth in visible appearances, which can disclose what is hidden, divine, or unknown.

For Bouts, these broader claims would also serve to affirm his own professional reputation. Bouts's artistic authority derives not only from his depiction of the ordeal, but also its gendered implications. One of the key pictorial sources for the countess's image sustains the identification between her ordeal and the artist. As Cyriel Stroo and Pascale Syfer d'Olne have shown, Bouts's portrayal of the ordeal draws heavily on the conventions of presentation miniatures: just as such miniatures portrayed authors genuflecting as they present their completed manuscripts to a ruler at court, Bouts shows the kneeling countess extending the hot iron toward the enthroned Holy Roman Emperor (Fig. 5.5 demonstrates an especially close relationship to the panels).[71] Unlike the writer's ornamented, bound manuscript, the countess's ordeal does not communicate through verbal discourse and linear unfolding. But, as Didier Martens suggests, both author and countess await a ruler's judgment.[72] Through his reception of the offered object, this ruler can enhance or diminish the honor of its maker.

If the countess's ordeal originates in a scene of authorial self-consciousness, such self-awareness and self-inscription was, broadly speaking, integral to the reception of Bouts's most famous precedent: early viewers of Rogier van der Weyden's exempla in Brussels noted the inclusion of the painter's self-portrait in one of the panels.[73] Thus, we might extend the general affinities between the countess and authors to incorporate the individual artist, Bouts himself. The countess proffers her testimony before the emperor-as-judge, while, similarly, the Flemish painter presents a crafted visual artifact, with all its pictorial and narrative conceits, to his patrons, the Leuven civic authorities and administrators of justice. Although the countess is not a direct self-portrait, she embodies and represents the painter's interests. Bouts's apparent investment in her ordeal, however, is also a dependence. Like the executed count, the painter's honor—his professional reputation—is conjoined to this visual display of female sexual virtue.

When the city later commissioned verses to supplement the exemplum's pictorial narrative, the resultant texts attested to this connection. Composed in rhyme, the texts encouraged their own oral recitation. Indeed, the verses began by spotlighting the verbal over the visual in discerning the lesson, exhorting judges to "hear what [Otto]

Fig. 5.5 Loyset Liédet, Vasque de Lucène presents his work to Charles the Bold, *Livre des fais d'Alexandre le grant*, 1470 (Paris, B.N., MS fr. 22547, 1r). Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

has done, on account of his deceitful wife."[74] Yet, when describing the ordeal, the texts accede to the visual register. Addressing Otto as he presides in judgment, the countess states that she will demonstrate his

wrongdoing: "'See, with a glowing iron in my hand!'" This verbal command concentrates the gaze on the countess's visible testimony, while the verses implicitly acknowledge a broad set of viewers as well as a proper response: "All men and women looked on in wonder/Who falsely shames those who trust in God?"[75] This latter question confers honor by invoking its opposite, shame. But the admonition to "see" fixes attention, not only on the countess, but also on the painting, the vehicle for her visible testimony. The audience's "wonder" and regard passes between countess and artist. Her persuasive powers are inseparable from his, and viewers' judgments are at once necessarily legal, social, and artistic.

In its portrayals of different forms of testimony, *The Justice of Otto III* maps the mutual terrain of law and honor while promulgating women's unequal relationship to legal speech. However, if this relationship typically contributes to women's otherness before the law, the justice panels, as silent pictures, share this exclusion from oral discourse. Positioning the viewer as judge, these images assert and rely on the efficacy of visual signs in obtaining just, proper judgments. The panels appropriate the countess, with her visible and embodied testimony, as a multivalent spectacle as well as an example of credible representation and virtuous self-presentation. Both count and artist ultimately derive honor from the depiction of the ordeal and its gendered import.

But if the countess serves as an example and vehicle for the artist, there are limits to her exemplary power for female spectators of the period. To be sure, the countess demonstrates that the signs of honor can be invoked and managed before the law to facilitate a desired judgment. While female viewers in Leuven might glean this broader lesson from the countess, she could not serve as a direct model for actual women in court: the Church renounced the use of ordeals in 1215, and the practice died out soon thereafter. The Leuven justice panels depict specific conditions of credibility and honor accessible to the artist alone.

Notes

1. For an overview of the commission and related documentation, see Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne, *Flemish Primitives II*, 56–99.
2. The original function(s) of the Great Hall remains unclear; my assertion is based on the function of an analogous space in the Brussels town hall, which served as a key model and rival for Leuven's structure. For

this aspect of the Brussels town hall, see de Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 345–346.

3. For an overview and history of the exemplum and its rhetorical function as it pertains to the early Netherlandish *exemplum iustitiae*, see van der Velden, "Cambyses, for Example," 9–11.
4. Ibid., 11.
5. As cited and translated in Ibid.
6. One panel was finished in 1473, but the other was not yet completed at the artist's death and was likely finished by his sons or assistants. See Stroo and Syfer d'Olne, 83.
7. This proposal is put forth in Stroo and Syfer d'Olne, 93. As they stress, however, the documentary sources are difficult to interpret on this matter.
8. Many historians have observed this trend in the Low Countries, beginning in the late fifteenth century. Mariann Naessens summarizes and contributes to this scholarship in her essay "Judicial Views of Women's Roles in Late Medieval Flanders," esp. 51–53.
9. For an overview of honor in the early modern period, including analysis of its relationship to the law, see Farr, "Honor, Law, and Custom in the Renaissance," 124–138.
10. For these gendered concepts of honor, worth, and repute, see Farr, 127–128; Arnade and Prevenier, *Honor, Vengeance, and Social Trouble*, 89–90; Prevenier, "Notions of Honor and Adultery," 259–278; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, 1–2.
11. On the use of reputation, typically conceived in terms of *fama* in court, see, for example, Kelleher, "Later Medieval Law in Community Context," 140–142.
12. Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 115–119.
13. This idea is promoted in texts like Thomasin von Zerclaere's *Welscher Gast* (c. 1215); for a discussion of this and other aspects of gender in the manual, see Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror*, Chap. 3.
14. Mitchell sees this perceived hierarchy registered in "traditional clichés about visual culture (children should be seen and not heard; women are objects of visual pleasure for the male gaze; black people are natural mimics; the masses are easily taken by images)." Mitchell, "Word and Image," 55–56.
15. Many scholars have noted the absence of prior depictions, including Verhaegen, "La Justice d'Othon de Thierry Bouts," 22; Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne suggest that the subject may only have been known to "a select few" (90).
16. For this study, I have relied on a sixteenth-century printed version of the text. See Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, 559–561. I am grateful to David

Butterfield for his translation of this passage; any translation errors, however, are my own.

17. Jacobus de Voraigne, *The Golden Legend*, 181. The *Spieghel der Biechten* is contained in MS Utrecht U.B. Cat. 1691, fol. 34r-68v. This particular exemplum is reprinted in de Vooys, *Middelnederlandse Stichtelijke Exempelen*, 26–27.
18. "Spreta dolens mulier, vota nephanda dedit," *Pantheon*, 559.
19. For this development, see van Caenegem, *Legal History: A European Perspective*, 71–113; and Fraher, "Conviction According to Conscience," 23–88.
20. For this concept of the judge in the Middle Ages, see Ullman, "Medieval Principles of Evidence," 78. The decline of the ordeal has been examined by many, including Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*.
21. Ullman, 82–83.
22. Ullman, 78; Fraher, 24.
23. On the accessibility of reputation and *fama* for witnesses, see Kelleher, 141.
24. For the *Pantheon*'s themes and their medieval reception, see Foerster, ed. *Godfrey of Viterbo and His Readers*.
25. de Vreese, *De Handschriften van Jan van Ruusbroec's Werken*, 372. The convent's ownership is inscribed on fol. 2r of the manuscript.
26. Archival source record payments to Henri de Muijser, a member of a local rhetorician's chamber, for the verses in October 1578. See Stroo and Syfer-d'Olfne for the lengthy verses, 99.
27. Wolfthal, 116.
28. "Corpore glorificum comitem, vultu'q; decorum, Dum regina videt, stimulis urgetur amorum, Et cupit hunc regis clam violare thorum." *Pantheon*, 559.
29. Ibid.
30. *The Golden Legend*, 181.
31. See Chap. 8.
32. The connection between the exemplum narrative and Joseph and Potiphar's wife is suggested by Stroo and Syfer d'Olne, 88–89.
33. Rothstein has discussed the prevalence and significance of what he calls "parallelisms" in David's justice panels, which he suggests the artist adapted in part from Bouts's example. See Rothstein, 2, 9–10, 21–24. Wolfthal also notes the use of contrast in the portrayal of the empress and countess, 119.
34. This possibility is discussed by many, including Verhaegen, 30; Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne, 91.
35. The literature on *ut picture poesis* is extensive. See, for example, Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis*.

36. Kelleher, 134–135.
37. Kittell, "Reconciliation or Punishment," 16.
38. Ullman, 81.
39. For a brief overview of issues in guardianship and women's legal status in medieval Europe, see Kelleher, 136–138.
40. These aspects of the *Sachsenspiegel* tradition are discussed by Caviness and Nelson, "Silent Witnesses, Absent Women, and the Law Courts in Medieval Germany," esp. 56–60.
41. Starkey, Chap. 3.
42. Caviness and Nelson, 56–60.
43. As cited in ibid., 56–57.
44. Ibid., 57.
45. Ibid., 57–58.
46. "Dicit ei, Dic, poena reis quo iure paratur […] vir fraude necatur? Retulit Otto, Caput perdere iure datur. Intulit haec, Tua te Caesar, sententia damnat, Fraude meum iugulasse uirum, te crimine pandam, Si uis iura coli, te decet inde mori. Haec tacuit, rex obstupuit, dicens mulieri, Nescio quid quaeris, neque vera tulisse videris, Huius enim sceleris, quis tibi testis erit? Ecce caput comitis (dixit comitissa) paratum, Fraude tua perijt, proprium cognosce reatum, Suscipe iudicium, te perhibente datum. Rex ait, iste comes, meruit pro crimine mortem. Illa negat, cupiens ignitam sumere sortem, Rex parat ignita, foemina uincit ita." *Pantheon*, 560.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. See Bartlett for a thorough study of the ordeal.
50. Wolfthal, 117.
51. Caenegem, 75.
52. For this connection, see Bartlett, 18–19.
53. McCracken, *The Romance of Adultery*, 72.
54. Ziegler, *Trial by Fire and Battle*, 6 and 114–145. Belle Tuten notes the difference between literary motifs and documented practice in her "Women and Ordeals," 163–174.
55. Stroo and Syfer d'Olne note the similarity between the countess and Salome in the first panel, where she receives the head, 89.
56. Wolfthal, 119.
57. See, for example, Farr, 127; Naessens, 66–69; Prevenier, 259–260.
58. Naessens, 67–68.
59. Parsons, "Loved Him—Hated Her," 284–285.
60. Gowing, 1.
61. As Gowing argues, even in post-Reformation England, with all its moralizing discourse, there was very little implication "that men were morally

culpable for illicit sex to the same degree—or even in the same terms—as women" (2).

62. Naessens, 63–66.
63. Ibid.
64. Transcribed in Stroo and Syfer d'Olne, 99.
65. It is no wonder, then, that some art historians have interpreted the panels as a critique of Burgundian political authority, represented by the figure of Otto. For a summary and critique of these views, see Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne, 93.
66. *Golden Legend*, 181; *Middelnederlandse Stichtelijke Exempelen*, 27.
67. *Pantheon*, 560.
68. Bartlett, 26.
69. On the use of perspective in this panel, see Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne, 80–81.
70. Ibid., 91.
71. Ibid., 89.
72. Martens, "Dieric Bouts and His Iconography," 67.
73. In his *De Visione Dei*, for instance, Nicolas of Cusa cites the image of "the preeminent painter Roger in his priceless painting in the city hall at Brusseles" (Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's Dialectical Mysticism*, 680).
74. "Voer allen richters, hoort wat hij bedreven heeft/Doer sijn valsche vrouwe …" All citations of the verses are from Stroo and Syfer d'Olne, 99. Translations mine.
75. "Met een geloijende ijser in mijn handen, siet/Swoer sij bijden levenden Godt, sonder verbranden iet/Dies sij allen verwondert waeren, mans en vrouwen/Wie salse beschaemen, die op Godt betrouwen." Ibid.

Acknowledgements I am grateful to Walter Prevenier and the editors of this volume for their thoughtful comments on earlier versions of this essay.

CHAPTER 6

Dürer's *Feast of the Rose Garland* and the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* as Strategies for Mediating Foreign, Masculine Identity

John R. Decker

Albrecht Dürer's *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, c. 1506, (Fig. 6.1) is perhaps one of his more enigmatic works.[1] A group of clerics and lay people assemble to venerate the Virgin and Christ Child who are seated in front of a cloth of honor. Among the attendees are Maximilian I Hapsburg (King of the Romans) and the Pope (usually identified as Julius II della Rovere). As the congregation prays, the Virgin, Christ, angels, and St. Dominic busily place coronets of roses on the heads of various attendees. To the right, a bearded figure peers back at the viewer from the middle ground and proffers a *cartellino*. The sign, held up for the viewer's inspection by a portrait of the artist himself, declares that the panel to which it is affixed was completed in five months' time. Despite the tacit claim that the artist was physically present at the depicted gathering, the

For Samson: *Requiescat in pace amico mei. Deus det tibi requiem sempiternum.*

J.R. Decker (✉)
Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, NY, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_6

Fig. 6.1 Albrecht Dürer's *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, c. 1506, National Gallery, Prague

scene does not record an historical meeting. It instead projects an ideal vision of a united Christian community in which men and women of all stations live in harmony and enjoy the beneficence of the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ. Even the Pope and Maximilian, who were often rivals, face one another as obedient supplicants to the Queen of Heaven and her son.

The image blends reality and fiction by placing known individuals in an imaginary gathering and situates the visionary scene in an equally fictional landscape. Rather than reporting a known locale, the vista is a chimera that combines Venetian trees and northern oaks with a Tyrolean mountainscape in which is nestled a representation of the artist's home city of Nuremberg. The view combines various locales in a manner that evokes the journey along the caravan route to Nuremberg by juxtaposing

various spatial indicators denoting imperial cities, lands belonging to the Republic, and the territories between them. The depictions of subject and landscape are not the only sources of blending evident in the panel. Dürer combines the Venetian preference for using poplar wood as a support with a typical northern use of oil glaze techniques. The colors are vivid and rich, light floods the scene, and there is a profusion of details that also unifies northern descriptive density with pictorial elements considered characteristic of *venezianitá*.[2] In addition, the angel at the foot of the Virgin appears to be an homage to Bellini, perhaps the most famous Venetian artist working during Dürer's lifetime. The tensions within the image—real/fictional, Venetian/transalpine, and papal/imperial—are subsumed under the fraternal accord made possible by the Virgin's presence. This raises a few questions: why create an image that merges so many geographic, social, and political elements? Who was the audience for this blending? What possible functions did the image serve for its original patrons? In what follows, I will argue that the work, made for the *Scuola dei Tedeschi*, which was a Marian confraternity predominately populated by the merchants at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice, has in it elements that helped the Germans form, assert, and maintain their social position in the city.

The German community in Venice was under pressure to please at least three different masters. They had to be loyal subjects of the Emperor and citizens of their respective imperial cities, good Christians obedient to the Pope and mother Church, and non-threatening guests to the most serene republic and its Doge. Failure to stay on good terms with the Republic, the Pope, or the Emperor—not to mention with one another—had the potential of interrupting business and damaging profits. The social and contractual ties between merchants, which could be sources of strength or points of contention, also needed careful tending. This was especially true for a group of expatriates required to live together under one roof despite their regional differences and tensions. In addition, the members of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* were classified as *stranieri* (foreigners). As non-Venetian "others," their public and business behaviors were under the constant scrutiny of the Venetian government, local merchants, and citizens of the city. The German community's ability or inability to adhere to and perform expected norms shaped their *fama* (public repute) and either mitigated or amplified their social and economic positions at the edges of Venetian society.

In the years leading to the commission of the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* and the establishment of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi*, the German community experienced multiple events that challenged their place in the fabric of Venetian commerce. Various occurrences in the local Venetian business world, recent disputes over the copper trade in Venice, the fallout from that dispute at the court in Innsbruck, developments in the global market, and the disastrous fire that gutted the *Fondaco* were potentially disruptive and damaging to the social and business reputations of the German merchants in Venice. To maintain the proper working order of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, and foster community among its denizens, it was necessary to rebuild and reassert ties of brotherhood, partnership, good faith, and equity strained by current events. It was also necessary to project those virtues outside the *Fondaco* and demonstrate them to the city at large and especially to the Venetian government that was always on guard against the possibly destabilizing presence of foreigners in the city. In this context, we may be able to see Albrecht Dürer's *Feast of the Rose Garlands* and the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* as the twin pillars supporting the (re)creation of a communal identity for the German merchants and tradesmen in Venice. The themes of brotherhood, harmony, equality, and good faith present in the altarpiece, and the confraternity's engagement with public spaces, civic pride, and ritual celebrations, situated German communal identity in commercial and masculine terms that were consonant with Venetian social norms. Asserting socially positive traits such as good faith and harmony and inflecting them in terms of masculine potency and agency helped to establish the German merchants of the *Fondaco* more securely in the business and social arenas of the city by downplaying their status as "other."

Much of the scholarly discussion of the image has treated it as an overt expression of national pride and identity, as proof of the influence of Italian art on the artist's development, as the artist's triumphant response to the *Paragone* between northern and southern artistic traditions, or as an example of Marian mysteries used for confraternal worship.[3] Authors who discuss the panel's connection to the confraternity tend to isolate the image from the organization and focus on the painting's didactic and devotional functions while largely ignoring the brotherhood. Rather than taking the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* in isolation, I consider it in connection with the confraternity for which it was made and seek to understand how both image and organization helped to mediate the corporate and masculine identities of the merchants of the

Fondaco dei Tedeschi as well as the larger German "nation" in Venice. Specifically, I argue that both Dürer's painting and the confraternity allowed the German community to assert a unique cultural identity tempered by, and situated in, a narrative of civically minded assimilation designed to diminish the disadvantage of being *stranieri*. What I offer here is necessarily speculative and is not meant to displace or dispute the prevailing interpretations of the panel and its Marian and Rosary imagery. My study, instead, is designed to nuance our understanding of a complex work and the community who commissioned it.

Although the artist is well documented, the historical traces around the creation and patronage of this image are sparse. We know that Dürer painted the large panel (162 × 194.5 cm) between 1505 and 1506 for the community of Germans living in Venice. In a letter dated 1505, he reports to his friend Willibald Pirkheimer, "I have received a commission to paint a picture for the *Tedeschi*. They are to pay me for it, a hundred and ten Rhenish florins […]."[4] Dürer's other letters from Venice make a few more references to the panel, which I will discuss later, but offer nothing of substance that specifies the identity of the commissioning agent, the names of those depicted in it, the painting's original location, or its purpose. Using sources post-dating the panel's creation, scholars have determined that it was most likely commissioned by a Rosary confraternity and was located in the church of S. Bartolommeo near the Rialto Bridge as an aid to communal worship.[5]

These authors also note that the name associated with the image is faulty. While the panel appears to have been made for an organization dedicated to the Rosary, the Catholic Church did not institute the Feast of the Rose Garlands until after the battle of Lepanto in 1571. For his part, Dürer appears to have referred to the panel in his letters as "my picture," "the picture for the *Tedeschi*," or "the picture of Maria." Even after entering the collection of Rudolph II in 1605, the image is referred to only as a "picture of Maria."[6] The title *Feast of the Rose Garlands* has its origins in the nineteenth century. The confusion surrounding the naming of the panel not only demonstrates the paucity of information attached to the image but also has shaped much of the discussion regarding its potential meanings and functions.

Further complicating matters is the panel's poor condition. Scholars who have attempted to use portrait sources to identify the figures depicted in the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* have been stymied by the alterations made to multiple faces during several restoration campaigns.[7]

The Virgin and Christ child were almost completely repainted, as was the majority of the Pope's face. In addition, other sections of the painting apparently containing portraits were altered making it difficult to assess their identities with a high degree of certainty. These issues aside, scholars have made convincing—though not unanimous—identifications. On the right, are Maximilian, Dürer, Conrad Peutinger (city recorder of Augsburg), Hieronymus von Augsburg (whose design for the new *Fondaco* won a public competition for the commission), and Leonard Vilt (founder of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* at S. Bartolommeo). The presence of Vilt as well as Hieronymous von Augsburg provides a compelling link between the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, the *Scuola dei Tedeschi*, and the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. On the left, we see a pope (most likely Julius II), Domenico Grimani (Patriarch of Aquileia) and Antonius Surianus (Patriarch of Venice and titular of S. Bartolommeo).[8] In other words, the image includes references to the Germans in Venice, their Venetian hosts, the papacy, and the empire. This raises two further, and related, questions: who were the German merchants in Venice and why might they have been so interested in such a pictorial statement of unity?

The Germans in Venice

German merchants engaged in wholesale trade had been present in Venice since the end of the twelfth century and erected their *Fondaco* in the S. Bartolommeo district near the Rialto in 1213.[9] The *Fondaco* was internally organized into two "tables": the Nuremberg, or the lower Rhine and north German factions, and the Regensburg, or the south German faction.[10] The Regensburg group held a dominant position, largely because of their control of metal sales, which often led to tensions within the community.[11] To ensure the smooth operation of business in the *Fondaco*, both groups were answerable to the office of the *Visdominus* (customs). This state-sponsored bureaucracy, staffed by Venetian citizens, brokered deals and saw to harmony within the organization.[12] Germans, as non-Venetian others, could not sell wares directly on the market but had to go through the *Visdomini* (customs officials) and the Factors (or agents) they authorized.[13] Although the merchants gathered under the roof of the *Fondaco* traded in a variety of goods, the primary or core businesses of the Germans were the exportation of spices and cloth and the importation and sale of metals, especially copper and silver.[14] The metals trade was particularly important because

it put the Germans at the heart of two key industries: arms manufacture, which relied on copper, and the bullion trade, which utilized gold and silver. Both endeavors impacted Venetian financial stability and, as a result, had the ability to influence affairs of state.[15] Copper was vital for casting cannons and bombards, which were not only important for the defense of the city and its fleet but also were export commodities. Worked copper was included in the all-important trade in the Levant and was often shipped out with galleys bound for Alexandria and Beirut.[16] Bullion was important as it drove local monetary policy as well as foreign trade, which relied on copious amounts of precious metals. A shortage in gold or silver threatened the solvency of Venetian banks and put vital trade negotiations in jeopardy. The failure of the silver importing Stammler firm in 1493 (and again in 1499), for example, demonstrated how the entire Venetian economy could be destabilized by shortages of metals and the coins minted from them.[17] As a result, the Venetian state had a keen interest in the affairs of the *Tedeschi*. The fact that they were *stranieri* was potentially problematic for the Republic as well as the German merchants. Allowing non-Venetian others any sort of prominence in the most important aspects of Venetian trade and politics cut against the grain of the city's narrative of exceptionalism and local control.

As a group, the merchants of the *Fondaco* were one of several foreign entities resident in Venice and had limited privileges within the city. They were excluded, for example, from the offices available to the *nobili* (nobles) as well as the *cittadini* (citizens) and were strictly supervised by city officials. Even those Germans born, raised, and educated in Venice were still considered foreign nationals unless they naturalized. A non-Venetian could seek, and gain, citizenship but the requirements were rather stringent. To become a citizen, a foreigner had to show residency and the payment of taxes for periods of between fifteen and twenty-five years depending on the type of citizenship desired. This timeframe could be shortened to eight or fifteen years if the foreigner married a native Venetian. Citizenship, however, was nuanced and the Venetian government drew critical distinctions between the types of citizenship a person had as well as her or his social class. There were three types of citizenship possible in Venice—*originarii*, *intus*, and *intus et extra*.[18] The first entailed the rights given to those born in the city to Venetian parents and could on rare occasion be bestowed on a foreigner as part of the naturalization process. The second conferred citizenship

rights and the ability to sell goods on the Venetian market. The third granted trading rights in Venice as well as in the coveted Levantine markets. The tiers of citizenship, as well as the distinctions between *nobili* and *cittadini*, provide ample evidence of the Venetian strategies of social stratification and exclusion. Not only did the Venetian government create a clear autochthonous/allochthonous differentiation between Venetians and non-Venetians, it also graded those considered citizens according to natal origin, degrees of mercantile rights, and claims to patrician standing (though, paradoxically, social norms insisted on a fiction of equality within these ranks under the concept of *mediocritas*).[19] For foreigners, like the merchants of the *Fondaco*, the arduous process of gaining citizenship was of mixed value. Even if naturalized, they could never hope for full integration into the closed social world of the Venetian elite.

For many foreigners the process of applying for and receiving citizenship was not crucial to their business interests and they chose to remain foreign inhabitants of the city. The German merchants of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* maintained their non-citizen status and carried out their trade as a corporate entity through the agency of the *Visdomini* and their Factors. Unlike other foreigners in the city, the German community was sequestered in the S. Bartolommeo district near the Rialto and the merchants were restricted to the *Fondaco* itself. The only other foreigners isolated in this manner were the Jews who were placed in their ghetto only after the conclusion of the wars of the League of Cambrai (1516), and the Turks, who were confined to the *Fondaco dei Turchi* in the early seventeenth-century—both were sequestered because of their religious otherness, which was perceived as a threat to the Christian population.[20] In other words, in the period under consideration, the German nation was the only group of foreigners restricted to a particular portion of the city by law (though as I discuss below, there were others who were subject to restriction).[21] This seclusion was certainly not based on religious grounds (at least in the period before the Protestant rupture) but seems to have been the result of two key factors: the long-standing status of the Rialto as a mercantile hub for commodities and finances and the Venetian government's need to contain, observe, and regulate commercial activities that could affect vital city interests. In both cases, the German community's status as "other" complicated the ways that the Republic dealt with its presence and activities in the city.

Sequestering the Germans in Venice

The sequestration required of the German community appears to have been a source of a tension between it and the Republic. As German merchants attempted to circumvent the law, the Venetian government responded by making clear that the restrictions were enforceable. A decree of 1475 notes, for example, that "no German merchant may on any pretext take lodgings in any place outside the exchange house [the *Fondaco*], upon a penalty of 50 ducats and the same penalty shall fall upon anyone who has lodged or has received into lodging such a person."[22] The most likely to offer lodging in the area around the *Fondaco* were other Germans, not engaged in the wholesale trade, and as a result this statute had the potential to punish the community doubly by fining both lodger and landlord. It also curtailed whom landlords could accept as clients and ensured that the German merchants would stay in the designated area.

The government fixed a wary eye on its foreign inhabitants who, in turn, had their own concerns regarding their Venetian hosts. The Venetian state, and its citizens, did not limit their concerns about foreigners to the German nation. Visitors to the city such as Philippe de Commynes, for example, made note of the suspicion, and even open hostility, of the Venetian citizenry toward their French guests.[23] The mixed attitude of the Venetian state regarding Jewish pawnbrokers and moneylenders is also well known.[24] As the German nation in Venice is the focus of this study, however, it will be helpful to turn to German sources to shed light on the segregation that they could expect in Venice as well as their reaction to it. The diary of the pilgrim Brother Felix Fabri of Ulm is particularly clear on such reactions and, as such, is worth quoting at length.

On his second trip to the Holy Land (c. 1483), Fabri passed through Venice. On his arrival he, and the other German pilgrims, were required to find housing in a hostel in the German district.

> Below the Rialto we turned out of the Grand Canal into another canal, on the right bank of which stands the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, by which we proceeded among the houses right up to the door of our inn, which was called the inn of St. George, and in German commonly known as '*Zu der Fleuten*.' Here we disembarked, walked up about sixty stone steps from the sea to the rooms which were prepared for us, and carried all our things

> into them. Here Master John, the landlord, and Mistress Margaret, the landlady, received us with great good humour … The entire household, the landlord and landlady, and all the manservants and maidservants, were of the German nation and speech, and no word of Italian was to be heard in the house, which was a very great comfort to us; for it is very distressing to live with people without being able to converse with them.[25]

Fabri's text demonstrates that the sequestration of Germans began from their initial entry into the city. Before ever stepping foot on Venetian soil, they were taken to the district near the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. Once there, they were lodged in a house in which everyone spoke German. For Fabri, the enforced separation not only provided something of a comfort to members of the German nation but protection as well.

> … as we entered the dog who guards the house came to meet us, a big black dog, who showed how pleased he was by wagging his tail, and jumped upon us as dogs are wont to do upon those whom they know. This dog receives all Germans with the like joy, from whatever part of Germany they come; but when Italians or Lombards, Gauls, Frenchman, Slavonians, Greeks, or men of any country except Germany, come into the house, he becomes so angry that you would think that he was gone mad, runs at them, barking loudly, leaps furiously upon them, and will not cease from troubling them till someone quiets him. He has not grown accustomed even to the Italians who dwell in the neighbouring houses, but rages against them as though they were strangers, and obstinately remains their implacable foe. Moreover, he will not on any terms allow their dogs to enter the house, but he does not meddle with German dogs. He does not attack German beggars who come asking for alms, but falls upon poor Italians who wish to come in to beg for charity, and drives them away.[26]

For the Germans nestled in their artificial enclave, all other nations were potentially dangerous but none more so than the Venetians (Italians) who hosted them. Though a simple creature, the dog guarding the hostel is able to discern the threat posed by non-Germans and does his best to protect the inn. Fabri, in fact, reports that the dog's suspicions mirror those of the Germans resident in the city.

> The Germans say that this dog is a proof that as he is the implacable foe of the Italians, so German men can never agree with Italians from the bottom of their hearts, nor Italians with us, because each nation has hatred of the

> other rooted in its very nature. The animal being irrational, and governed only by its passions, quarrels with the Italians because its nature bids it to do so; but human beings restrain their feelings by the aid of reason, and keep down the feeling of hatred which is engrained in their nature.[27]

According to Fabri, both sides approach each other with enmity and only by exercising reason and restraint can there be any peace. The dog can be excused for his behavior because he is an irrational beast. For Fabri and the other pilgrims, staying among Germans and away from other nations, especially the Italians, is a better option for maintaining harmony and avoiding danger.

Dürer's *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, to some extent, evinces the separation experienced by the German community in Venice even as it works to assert their unity and inclusion in a larger socio-religious context. The Virgin and Christ Child offer the assembled figures the benefits of Christian worship, in which each receives an equal measure of God's love and protection. Despite the theoretical equality on display, however, the men and women of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* are gathered conspicuously behind Maximilian and are separated from the churchman and representatives of the Venetian state opposite them. Further, the German community depicted in the altarpiece is situated under the Tyrolean mountainscape in the background and visually associated with the German city in the distance. Though not conclusive by any means, the panel's composition seems to reflect an awareness among the Germans that they were held separate from their Venetian hosts.

From the Venetian government's perspective, the statutes restricting the German community to well-defined locations neutralized the perceived threat they posed to the social order. This strategy was not new in Venice as it had been applied to the city's women for centuries. Though it is impossible to establish a direct one-to-one correspondence between gender-based laws regarding control over women's bodies and the statutes restricting German merchants, especially as distinctions of class and citizenship complicate matters, there are parallels that bear examination. Venetian women of all social classes were under the close supervision of their families and communities.[28] In large part, this form of social surveillance and control was driven by concerns over the potentially disruptive effects of unguarded female reproduction. Failure to ensure clear lines of inheritance, as well as the social infamy of being cuckolded, struck at the heart of the Venetian patriarchy. As Jessen Kelley

points out in her work on Bouts's *Justice of Otto III* in this volume, honor was the coin of male social worth but was a currency that was as unstable as it was central. As a result, Venetian males—especially patricians—felt it important to foreclose such possibilities and keep women from gaining an upper hand in male-female power relations. "Proper" women were restricted to clearly bounded spaces in which the men of their familial lines could enforce their virtue. Celibate women were confined to convents under the watchful eyes of priests and family visitors. Women incorporated into the world of marriage and childbearing were restricted to familial homes and to their parish (though a neighboring parish was also allowed under certain circumstances).[29] Such neighborhood restrictions ostensibly kept wives and mothers in friendly environments in which the possibilities for conflict and danger were minimized. It also ensured that these women hewed closely to a set of well-established kinship connections that vouched for their continued conformity with social norms. Even women of ill repute were localized in a handful of authorized bordellos (the most famous of which was located in the Rialto district).[30]

Performing Dual Identities: Germans as an "Other" in Venice

In theory, the restriction of women to "female" or "feminine" spaces mitigated the perceived threat they posed by containing potentially troublesome female bodies and issues in clearly delimited locations. We can perhaps view the Venetian government's restrictions of the German community's spatial mobility in a similar manner. The sequestration of the *Tedeschi* put limits on a wealthy group of social "others" whose business interests reached into the core of the Venetian economy. These restrictions kept the merchants on an inferior footing with their Venetian competitors and tipped the balance of power in Venetian favor. Limiting the *Tedeschi* to S. Bartolommeo, I argue, may be seen as a means of feminizing the entire German community in Venice and thereby taming and controlling their ability to upset Venetian society. Certainly, the Germans were not the only foreigners subjected to the patriarchal power of the state. Any foreigner doing business in the city was answerable to the *Visdominus* who, as a representative of Venice's patrician government, acted as the actualizing power for the ostensibly passive, client merchant.

The extent to which the *Tedeschi* were bounded—especially the fact that they were the only "others" confined to a particular area—seems to indicate that the Venetian government viewed them as particularly dangerous.

The tensions caused by sequestration, as well as the xenophobia Fabri attributes to both Germans and Italians, surfaces again in the letters Albrecht Dürer sent from Venice while working on the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*. Unlike Fabri's observations, which place the causes for strife in the nature of each nation, Dürer's view of his Venetian hosts is more complex, contradictory, and personal. In a letter to Pirkheimer dated 7 February 1506, the artist praises his new humanist acquaintances in Venice while deriding others he has met.

> … there are so many pleasant companions amongst the Italians [in Venice], with whom I am becoming more and more intimate, so that it does one's heart good. There are learned men amongst them, good lute players, pipers, some having a knowledge of painting; right honest people, who give me their friendship with the greatest kindness.
>
> On the other hand, there are also among them the most lying, thieving rascals that ever lived on the earth; and if one was not acquainted with their ways, one would take them for the most honest men in the world.[31]

Dürer's perception of Venetians seems to allow for the possibility that, from the German perspective, some Italians were worth knowing. Education, humanist leanings, musical proficiency, and knowledge of painting mitigated the artist's otherwise suspicious assessment of non-Germans. Dürer's opinion of the majority of his artistic colleagues (with the exception of Bellini), however, is more decidedly negative and evokes Fabri's assertion of the fundamental inability of Germans and Italians to find agreement.

> I have many good friends among the Italians, who warn me not to eat or drink with their painters, for many of them are my enemies, and copy my things in the church, and wherever they meet with them. And yet notwithstanding this they abuse my works, and say that they are not according to ancient art and therefore not good.[32]

Not only are his local competitors derogatory of his works, Dürer also voices his concern that to even eat or drink with his peers is too

dangerous to consider—the implication being that he could fall victim to jealous poisoning.[33] It is impossible to say for certain whether or not Dürer truly believed his life was in danger but it is suggestive of the distrust that the long-term sequestration of the German community could engender. To add insult to injury, from Dürer's perspective at least, the local artists clearly saw him as a foreigner who was as subject to the local rules of commerce as any other German merchant living in Venice. In a letter dated 2 April 1506, he informs Pirkheimer that, "the painters here are very ungracious towards me. They have summoned me three times before the magistrates, and I have been obliged to pay four florins to their school."[34] The fines he mentions are related to selling art in Venice without being a recognized member of the guild. Such legal actions reinforced Dürer's status as a foreign national and demonstrated how precarious his financial and business interests were while in the city. It was one thing to accept a particular commission from his countrymen and another altogether to attempt competitive entry into the local art market in general. Whether pilgrim, visiting artist, or resident merchant, Germans in Venice were well aware of their unequal footing with their local counterparts. As foreigners, and therefore potentially disruptive elements within the commonwealth, German merchants endured the close scrutiny of the government and the citizenry. To maintain their legitimacy, and *fama*, in the city, the merchants of the *Fondaco* needed to promote and sustain a reputation for equitable business practices and conformity with Venetian customs and norms. They also needed to assert their presence in the ritually and socially significant spaces of the city in order to extend their public image beyond the confines of the S. Bartolommeo district and the Rialto. Managing how others in the city saw them was of critical importance to their continued commercial and social well-being.[35] This task, however, was made difficult by a series of disruptions that challenged the cohesion of the merchants in the *Fondaco* and had the potential to tarnish their communal reputation.

Tensions in the German Community

Despite their regional differences, the German merchants were bound together by commonalities of language, social customs, and business realities. As a group, they competed against other foreigners in the city—Jews, Greeks, Albanians, and Turks to name a few—as well as against local Venetians. Like other business practitioners, the merchants

of the *Fondaco* adopted the strategy of forming cartels to maintain their interests in Venetian business circles. These business partnerships allowed multiple firms to join resources and made it possible for them to manipulate prices and create quasi-monopolies, albeit within the context of the larger Venetian monopsony. Such arrangements could only work if all of the parties involved adhered to the strict conditions outlined in partnership contracts. Any violation of these guidelines threatened the financial positions of each of the partners and introduced a fracture into the social fabric of the trading community.

A serious breach of cartel occurred in 1499. Four influential members of the Augsburg table—the Fugger firm of Augsburg, the Gossembrot and Herwart companies (also of Augsburg) and the Baumgartners of Kufstein—had entered into an agreement to fix the price of Tyrolean copper in the Venetian market.[36] One of the members of the cartel, Jakob Fugger, undercut the others by selling Hungarian copper under the name of Johann Thurzo, who was one of his other business partners.[37] Jakob Fugger's decision came at a particularly bad time for those trading on the Rialto. In 1499, the failure of the Stammler firm, which imported silver, put pressure on the precious metals market. The drop in available bullion, along with a recurrent shortage of wheat and the beginning of a naval war with the Turks, destabilized local finances causing three major banks, the Garzoni, the Rizzo, and the Lippomano, to fail in rapid succession.[38] German merchants, including the Fugger, had substantial deposits in the Garzoni and Lippomano firms and were facing delays in having those funds returned as part of the liquidation of the banks.[39] Additionally, the loss of the three financial companies decreased liquidity in the local market making it almost impossible for the Germans to sell the remaining bullion they had imported, which impacted their core business in Venice.[40] Further, the outbreak of war with the Turks (1499–1502) had unforeseen effects on the copper market. By 1498, large quantities of copper were being shipped to the Levant, which increased demand for the metal (and may have been the origin for Fugger's plan to undercut his cartel mates).[41] When war erupted, the shipping lanes to the east were curtailed causing a copper glut in which "stocks totaled 1120 tons in May 1499, 2000 tons at Christmas."[42] Jakob Fugger's breach of cartel not only undercut his business partners, but also left them with major financial liabilities and no certain Venetian or Levantine outlets for selling their surplus. Taken in conjunction with the shortage of credit and reduced availability of hard currency caused by

the failure of the banks, Fugger's business strategy was a serious betrayal of his fellow Regensburgers that threatened their livelihoods.

This betrayal of business interests resulted in resentment and strained relationships within the German community housed in and around the *Fondaco*. The controversy was rancorous enough that the Gossembrot firm insisted that it be adjudicated in Maximilian's court at Innsbruck. The city recorder of Augsburg, Dr. Conrad Peutinger, offered a legal opinion titled *Consilium in causa societatis cupri* on behalf of the plaintiffs. In his text, Peutinger condemned the Fugger firm's actions as a violation of trust and good faith. It abused the privilege that the King of the Romans granted to his merchant subjects who sold goods mined from royal possessions ostensibly for the good of the empire and imperial cities.[43] The cartel formed by the plaintiffs and the Fugger, according to Peutinger, directly impacted the common good. As a result, the learned doctor argued that such cartels, "should be thought of as a brotherhood and should be maintained in love and faithfulness toward one another like brothers."[44] To breach the trust of such a bond showed no regard for the community or for the common good. In addition to Peutinger's condemnation, the breach also was problematic as it was a violation of the twin pillars of the *lex mercatoria* (business law) namely *bona fides* (good faith) and *aequitas* (equity).[45] A breakdown in respect for mercantile law between the vendors in the *Fondaco* was troublesome. If they could not work in good faith and equity with one another, how could other foreign merchants or the Venetians trust them?

The dispute between the cartel members, the collapse of the Venetian monetary system, and the disruptions to trade brought on by the naval war against the Turks (especially after the defeat at Zonchio in 1499) were not the only hardships the German merchants in Venice faced. By 1502 the effects of Vasco da Gama's voyages to the Indies had rippled across Europe and had begun shifting the lucrative spice trade away from Venice and toward Antwerp.[46] Further, by 1503 the lower shipping costs of Asian spices introduced by the Portuguese put substantial downward price pressure on those commodities, which cut into profits for those merchants still headquartered in Venice and still paying tolls to move their goods into and out of the city.[47] The shift in spices also impacted the metal business as Portuguese traders had an increased need for copper as an exchange medium for Asian markets. Inventory normally destined for Venice could be sold more profitably in Antwerp and was sent there. Adding to these international pressures, the Venetians

were increasingly concerned about Maximilian's stated intentions to march through the city on his way to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor. This plan put citizens of imperial cities living in or visiting Venice in a difficult position. From the vantage point of the Venetian government, subjects of the empire had the potential to be spies and agents of the king. There was, after all, a robust history of disloyalty to the Republic from those it once hosted. The expulsion in 1499 of Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, for his betrayal of Venice during his involvement in negotiations for the Florentine-Pisan war was just one recent example among many.[48] Tensions between the Republic and imperial territories were overt enough that Dürer noted in a letter to Pirkheimer that, "the Venetians are preparing for war, as well as the Pope, and also the King of France. What will come of it I do not know. They laugh at our king."[49]

In addition to the pressures the Germans faced politically, socially, and economically, a fire in 1505 destroyed the *Fondaco*, leaving the merchants temporarily without a headquarters, further straining their business interests. The statute of 1475 was still in effect leaving the Germans with the added conundrum of where to house themselves and their wares while still being in compliance with the law. Fortunately for the merchants, the *Fondaco* provided the state with much needed revenue via taxes (by some estimates up to one million ducats per year).[50] Rather than lose those funds, Doge Loredan decided to build a new warehouse for the Germans and gained the approval of the Council of Ten to buy the necessary land and begin construction. To be sure, the Venetian support for rebuilding the warehouse publicly demonstrated that the state considered the merchants a necessary component of the economy; it was up to the *Tedeschi*, however, to prove that they were worth the investment. Even after settling differences like the breach of cartel between the Fugger firm and its partners and adapting to changes in the market, which was the case by 1505, it was still incumbent on the Germans merchants as a corporate body to find ways to continue to create harmony in the *Fondaco*. What options did the Germans in Venice have to help them respond to these challenges? How could they rebuild, maintain, and project a unified corporate identity that combined transalpine as well as Venetian concerns? How could the entire German community demonstrate its worth to the Republic?

To no small degree, the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* appears to address many of these issues, especially those of communal ties and competing affiliations. This is not to say, however, that the image faithfully catalogs

recent history or is somehow merely an illustration of current events. Dürer's panel depicts an idealized social order that may have been useful in (re)creating a *societas* for the merchants of the *Fondaco* based on brotherhood, partnership, good faith, and equity. The image offers a scene of triple unification for the German merchants who needed to balance the demands of their respective imperial cities, the Church, and the Republic. Assembled before the Virgin and Christ are representatives of these powers—Emperor, Pope, and Patriarch of the City. Rather than being divided by political affiliation, these leaders and their subjects, the men and women of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi*, are unified in their veneration of Christ and his mother. As members of the confraternity, each is bound to the other by ties of brother- and sisterhood, regardless of rank. To be sure, the perfect harmony on display in the panel was fictive, especially given the deteriorating relationships between Maximilian and those preparing for war against him. For merchants dependent on good relations between imperial territories, the papacy, and the Republic for their livelihoods, the image presents an ideal world of peace and harmony mediated by the concept of Christian brotherhood.[51] Conciliation was not limited to the field of international politics, however. Dürer's image was made for the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* (which I will discuss in more detail later) and predominately addressed local matters of community and identity. Specifically, it allowed the merchants of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, and the larger German population in Venice, to demonstrate their transalpine origins as well as their Venetian affiliations within a Christian (papal) context. Doing so reinforced the need to act together as a community to appease each of their masters and further their collective mercantile goals. Moreover, the theme of unity depicted in the image can be seen as reflection of the social function of similar confraternities instituted by foreigners which were "characterized on the one had by a pride in their own separate national identity, but on the other by a desire to demonstrate their loyalty to their adoptive home."[52]

Performing Dual Identities: Equality and Brotherhood

Beyond religious affiliation, the image also blended the needs of the merchant community with the norms of their host city. Venetian society was strongly tiered into three levels—*nobili*, *cittadini*, and *populani*. As foreigners, the Germans could never hope to make their way into

the top tiers of society. As long-term residents of Venice, however, the members of the *Fondaco* understood that Venetians valued the semblance at least of being a society of equals. The parity with which the members of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* are depicted might be seen as a projection of the ineffable Venetian quality of *mediocritas*—which favored "equality and similarity"—after which upstanding members of society strove.[53] The privileged positions given to Maximilian and the Pope, on the other hand, make clear the German's grasp of the hierarchical structures to which they were subject in reality. At the very least, the democratic manner in which the *Tedeschi* appear visually asserts the *aequitas* demanded by the *lex mercatoria* as the foundation of good business. Both possibilities—*mediocritas* or *aequitas*—reinforce the community's reputation and provide assurances that the merchants of the *Fondaco*, as well as the other German tradesmen in the city, can be trusted to act according to social and commercial norms.

The choice of the theme of the Rosary, as well as the inclusion of Maximilian's portrait, established a strong northern identity for the group. Rosary devotion began in imperial territories and had its most influential epicenter in Cologne where Jakob Sprenger founded his organization in 1477.[54] By the 1490s, there were over 100,000 members inscribed into the confraternity, Maximilian among them.[55] His presence in the panel takes advantage of that well-known connection. Maximilian is located at the head of the laity gathered on the right, which visually aligns the depicted members of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* with him. The men and women of the German community in Venice are gathered as good Christians venerating the Virgin and also as citizens of various imperial territories who benefit from the moral leadership that Maximilian provides. These imperial associations are balanced with strongly Venetian elements sharing almost equal weight in the panel. The use of poplar wood as the support, homage to Bellini's recently completed S. Zaccaria panel, and the use of the "single unified field altarpiece that had become common in Venice," announce the *Tedeschi's* Venetian connections both materially and visually.[56] Further, the presence of the portrait of the Patriarch of the City (who was titular of S. Bartolommeo), as well as the likeness of Domenico Grimani, injects overt references to the Republic into the image. These representatives of Venice join in the veneration of the Virgin, which unifies the *Tedeschi*, the King of the Romans and the Venetians as good Christians under the benevolent banner of the Catholic Church.

In addition to the altarpiece, the institution of a confraternity dedicated to the Virgin and the Rosary, provided a platform for reuniting the community of Germans. It did this by creating a cooperative ritual kinship, based on brotherhood, which took advantage of pan-European trends in lay piety and that was open to all Germans regardless of their trade.[57] In addition, the organization blended a strong Venetian interest in the veneration of the Virgin with specific dedication to the Rosary, which in the period was a predominately northern form of worship.[58] Finally, the combination of altarpiece and confraternity allowed the Germans to demonstrate publicly their integration into Venetian society, even if they were foreigners.

In 1504, Leonard Vilt chartered a brotherhood dedicated to the Madonna of the Rosary as a *scuola piccola* under the name "*schola […] De la Zoia Restata eiusdam beatissimae virginis.*"[59] By 1506, it was known as the "*Scuola del Santissimo Rosario*" and the "*Scuola dei Tedeschi.*"[60] There were twenty-one groups in Venice dedicated to the Virgin by 1501.[61] Of these, only two focused on the Rosary and both were founded by Germans—the Rosary confraternity at San Domenico di Castello founded around 1480 by John of Erfurt and the group established by the *Tedeschi*.[62] As a company dedicated to the Virgin, the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* inscribed both male and female membership (as reflected in Dürer's painting) but reserved participation in public rituals for men only. The Germans, as foreign nationals and non-Venetian "others," could only institute a confraternity under the framework of a *scuola piccola* rather than a *scuola grande*. As one of the "lesser" organizations, the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* fell under the jurisdiction of either the *Guistizieri Vecchi* or the *Provveditori di Commun*.[63] In addition, any *scuola piccola* organized in the city needed the approval of the Council of Ten, which placed membership restrictions on the confraternity to prevent it from rivaling the various *scuole grandi* established by the *cittadini* and *nobili*.[64] In the case of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi*, the Council approved the charter and limited membership to one hundred, or about half that of a *scuola grande*.[65] The decision of the Council of Ten to rebuild the *Fondaco* after the fire of 1505, at the behest of the Doge, demonstrated the German's financial worth to the community. The creation of a *scuola* and a large altarpiece gave the community the chance to assert its spiritual and social value. It also allowed its members to enact their commitment to *la vita civile* (civic life) by participating in the affairs of the community

in a manner that demonstrated both corporate and individual *civilità* (civic mindedness).[66]

The church of S. Bartolommeo was the logical choice for housing the *scuola* as it was tied to the German community by proximity and language. Not only was it the church closest to the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, and served as the de facto parish church for the Germans in Venice, but it also was where services were routinely preached in German.[67] As a recognized organization, the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* not only enhanced the spiritual lives of its members but also asserted the need for the entire community to come together regardless of affiliation with the Regensburg table or the Nuremburg table. It was a venue in which the petty day-to-day frictions caused by business, and regional differences, could be eased through communal worship and the equality that membership in the brotherhood imparted (at least in theory).

Socially, the confraternity also placed the German's on a more equal footing with other foreign "nations" already integrated into Venice's social fabric through their own *scuole piccole*. The Greeks had a *scuola piccola* as did the Dalmations, Albanians, Milanese, and the Florentines.[68] The establishment of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi*, in fact, coincides with the period in which the Florentine nation in Venice was on the wane. After the collapse of the Medici and Rucellai banks in the 1480s, Florentine bankers were less active in the bullion trade and were supplanted by firms like the Fugger.[69] By 1504, the year the Germans established their organization, membership in the Florentine *scuola* had diminished to the point that "it was threatened with excommunication in a suit brought by the Franciscans before the papal legate on account of the state of the 'building and chapel', which by then was 'demolished and devastated.'"[70] The rise of the *Tedeschi* during the decline of the Florentines certainly afforded the German merchants the opportunity to fill the once socially visible role vacated by their Italian rivals. The *Scuola dei Tedeschi* helped supplant the Florentine community on the social stage of Venice's ritual calendar. Even the choice of Dürer for the creation of the altarpiece for the *scuola* can be seen in the context of superseding the Florentines. Dürer's panel gave the Germans an opportunity to respond to Donatello's statue of St. John the Baptist (c. 1438) for the altar of the Florentine's *scuola*. Like Donatello, Dürer was an artist of international repute and the German's choice of their countryman to execute the centerpiece of their new organization allowed the *Tedeschi* to show their

cultural origins and simultaneously comply with local customs, which expected a major work for the chapel.

More importantly, the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* provided the Germans with an official presence in the ritual life of the city including yearly processions at S. Marco. Within the ritual space of the *Assunta* (the Assumption of the Virgin, which was a key celebration in Venice), *Corpus Christi*, or other recurring processions, the Germans could project their unity, brotherhood, and good will to the entire city. Participating in the socially and politically charged civic processions held throughout the year increased the German's collective *fama* by conferring on them the legitimacy and social acceptability born of participating in defined, sanctioned ritual kinships.[71] Public rituals were enacted in important, socially charged spaces in the urban fabric. San Marco, the Rialto, and major waterways and thoroughfares provided the settings for the most important rites of the calendar year.[72] In addition to their civic valences, the spaces in which these events occurred were critical to the assertion of public identity and bore strongly male associations.[73] San Marco and the Rialto, respectively, were the prime spaces of politics and commerce and, as such, were arenas in which men competed with each other for power, prestige, and wealth.[74] As spheres of male influence, the ritual routes traversed by confraternal companies provided a stage on which individual constituencies vied for attention and legitimacy. Participation in the yearly round of civic rites allowed the German merchants to declare their presence publicly and assert their potency as men engaged in the world of business. The public nature of such displays, and the urban spaces in which they took place, provided the *Tedeschi* opportunities to counteract the social effects of the sequestration imposed by the city.[75] For the German merchants of the *Fondaco*, their statutory restriction to a defined parish, albeit one associated with commerce, placed them in a feminized category that undercut their social, commercial, and political agency and underscored their status as "other." The creation of the *Scuola dei Tedeschi* allowed the Germans to assert themselves publicly in the most important spaces of the city and in doing so establish a strong, male identity for the community of merchants in the *Fondaco*.

Such public displays not only asserted a gendered identity for the Germans, but their confraternal activity also afforded them a chance to demonstrate their assimilation into Venetian society by observing local customs and norms. The *Tedeschi's* participation in the Venetian ritual calendar, and their performance of a Venetian-style masculinity by

occupying ritually sanctioned political and commercial spaces, showed how completely and subtly they had adopted and adapted to Venetian culture. Such assimilation, in theory, helped to mitigate (though not negate) their persistent status as "other." Involvement in yearly rites also provided a platform on which to reassure the Venetians that the Germans were not merely a necessary evil to be tolerated for the sake of local commerce like other minorities in the city such as the Jews or Turks.[76] Their integration into the ritual rhythms of the year asserted that they were beneficial participants in civil life. To perform harmoniously in public, however, it was necessary to build unity within the confraternity and the community it represented. The chapel in S. Bartolommeo, and Dürer's altarpiece, were important ingredients for creating such concord and for sustaining the *scuola's* corporate identity. Assertions of masculine power, unboundedness, civic accord, and social integration were not limited to confraternal participation in public rites. If the public performances the confraternity carried out during civic rituals provided the outward-facing portion of the *Tedeschi's* civic/spiritual persona, then the painting constituted the inward-looking portion. As such, I believe we can see indications of the tactics the German community used to (re)create and assert its identity in the composition of the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*.

While the figure of the Virgin anchors the composition and is predominately placed in the foreground, the presence of other women in the scene is more subdued. The Virgin's centrality makes sense given the Rosary focus of the confraternity and the image. The other women depicted, however, are relegated to more obscure positions. Of the five female figures represented among the *Tedeschi*, only two are easily visible and appear between an armored figure, whose identity is highly disputed, and the blue-robed figure of Leonard Vilt.[77] The *Scuola dei Tedeschi* inscribed both male and female members, as was the norm with Rosary organizations, and the mixture of genders demonstrates this. The composition, however, makes it clear that the women involved in the confraternity were relegated to minor roles. Male figures outnumber female figures among the Germans almost two-to-one (if we include Maximilian, Dürer, and Peutinger) and the most visible women are framed by male figures representing the active and contemplative lives. The Germans, like their Venetian hosts, were concerned with issues of male reputation and the protection/enforcement of proper female behavior (the northern literary traditions of *Boerden* and *Shwankmären*, for example, demonstrate these cultural anxieties).[78] Not only does the

composition rein in German women, it also casts German men in the roles of protectors and guides. In other words, the image projects masculine and feminine identities well in keeping with contemporary sixteenth-century social norms whether German or Venetian. The masculine identity of the merchants is not limited to literal representations of male and female bodies however. The composition groups the *Tedeschi* under a portion of landscape that recedes toward the mountains in the distance. The visual references to German cities like Nuremberg, as well as the Tyrolean mountain passes that were part of the caravan route to imperial territories, demonstrated the scope of the *Tedeschi's* mercantile reach and influence. The vast distances represented in the landscape made evident that the German merchants were as unbounded, and presumably manly, as any Venetian. In addition to implying the mercantile prowess of the Germans, the landscape also addresses the integration of the *Tedeschi* with their Venetian hosts. The blending of tree types, as well as the composition of the middle ground that groups the figures in close proximity to one another, unifies both German and Venetian spaces into a balanced continuum. Finally, the image's focus on the shared veneration of Christ and the Virgin establishes an ideal harmony between the Germans resident in Venice, the Republic, the papacy, and the empire. The peace and harmony of the group bound together by a shared Christian culture and belief system shows that despite regional differences, the two can act as one, which bodes well socially, politically, and economically.

The assertions of community, equality, masculine virtue, and brotherly accord manifest in the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, as well as the harmony depicted between the Republic, the empire, and the papacy, addressed the concerns of the German resident in Venice. Further, it demonstrated the potential power of negotiation and good relations. If the great powers could come together—as they did in various leagues convened to maintain political stability across Europe by checking the power of any one actor—certainly the Germans and the Republic could do the same, even if there occasionally were tensions between them. The rebuilding of the *Fondaco* after the fire, the establishment of the *scuola*, and the creation of Dürer's panel provided opportunities to ease those tensions and rebuild alliances. The confraternity and the altarpiece gave the Germans a means of addressing themselves, as well as their hosts, and demonstrating publicly that they were unified and happily assimilated into Venetian society. The scene of universal brotherhood in which all members act "in love and faithfulness toward one another" mirrors Peutinger's opinion

regarding the true nature of business relationships expressed in his *Consilium in causa societatis cupri*. The presence of his likeness in the image, observing the gathering in the company of the artist, acts potentially as a mnemonic cue for his arguments. The group gathered in the image works together in good faith toward its collective salvation within a dual Venetian and German context, which in turn provides a model for its business interests. If the Germans cooperate in brotherhood for the common good as depicted in the panel, and participate in the *scuola* with an eye toward *civilità*, then *bona fides* and *aequitas* will follow, as will harmony, blessings, and good fortune.

Notes

1. A portion of this paper was presented at the 2014 meeting of the Sixteenth-Century society. My thanks to Richard Keatley for organizing the session and providing an initial testing ground for the ideas contained here.
2. Brown, 15.
3. See for example (though this is by no means exhaustive): Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*; Humfrey, 21–33; Kotkova, *Albrecht Dürer: The Feast of the Rose Garlands*, 1506–*2006*; Lübbeke, 15–32; and Morrall, 99–114. Morrall, ostensibly following sentiments voiced by Humfrey, states specifically (pp. 108–109) that the image was "intended to reflect the political and economic status of the expatriate community as a whole." In the remainder of his text, however, he never returns to this assertion but instead argues for the influence of Italian art theory on Dürer's practice as well as for the status of Dürer's Venetian production as a German triumph in the *Paragone* between Italy and the North. I agree with Morrall's statement regarding the image as an expression of communal identity and wish to explore the concept further in this paper. I respectfully disagree, however, with his assertions (also on p. 109) that the image was "explicitly patriotic" and that it was a "testament to Germanic cultural standing." As I hope to show, such nationalistic imperatives would have been disadvantageous to the German community in Venice, especially in the years in which the image was commissioned and completed.
4. Heaton, 74.
5. For a representative sample of the scholarship see: Gümbel, *Dürers Rosenkranszfest und die Fugger. Konrad Peutinger, der Begleiter Dürers*; Humfrey. *The Renaissance Altarpiece in Venice*; Humfrey, "Dürer's Feast of the Rosegarlands"; Humfrey, "Competitive Devotions: The Venetian

Scuole Piccole as Donors of Altarpieces in the Years around 1500," 401–423; Lübbeke, "Dürer's Visualization of an Imagined Community"; Kotkova, "The Feast of the Rose Garlands: What Remains of Dürer?," 4–13; Martin, "Dan hat sich ain quarter befunden in vnserer Capeln, von der Hand des Albrecht Dürers. The Feast of the Rose Garlands in San Bartolomeo di Rialto (1506–1606)," 53–67; Martin, "Dürers Rosenkranzfest und eine Fuggergrablege mit einem Gemälde von Battista Franco in San Bartolomeo di Rialto," 59–64; Morrall, "Dürer and Venice"; van den Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers Rosenkranzfest en de Ikonografie der Duitse Rozenkransgroepen van de xv. en het begin der xvi. eeuw*; Panfsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*; and Brian Pullan, *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700*.

6. van den Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers Rosenkranzfest en de Ikonografie der Duitse Rozenkransgroepen* and Kotkova, "The Feast of the Rose Garlands: What Remains of Dürer?".
7. van den Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers Rosenkranzfest en de Ikonografie der Duitse Rozenkransgroepen* provides an excellent diagram of the damaged areas as does Kotkova, "The Feast of the Rose Garlands: What Remains of Dürer?".
8. See the scholarship on the panel listed above. For more specific attributions based primarily on portrait sources and cross-referenced with historical data, see: Gümbel, *Dürers Rosenkranszfest*; Humfrey, "Dürer's Feast of the Rosegarlands"; and Frances van den Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers Rosenkranzfest*. These attributions, as I noted, are not unequivocal. Isolde Lübbeke, for example, identifies St. Dominic as Jakob Sprenger (see: Lübbeke, "Dürer's Visualization of an Imagined Community," 18) and Oudendijk Pieterse identifies the figure next to Dürer as Pirkheimer (see: Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers Rosenkranzfest*, 40).
9. Braunstein, "Erscheinungsformen einer Kollektividentität: Die Bewohner des Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig (12. – 17. Jahrhundert), in Bestmann, et al. eds. *Hochfinanz, Wirtschaftsräume, Innovationen: Festschrift für Wolfgang von Stromer*, 411–420. For further reading on the Fondaco, see also (though not exclusively): Ennen, 137; "German Merchants in Venice: Fondaco dei Tedeschi 1225–1510," 97–104; Hoffmann, "The Fondaco de tedeschi: The Medium of Venetian-German Trade," 244–252; Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco Dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die Deutsch-Venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen* and Thomas, *Capitolare Dei Visdomini Del Fontego Dei Todeschi in Venezia*.
10. Hoffmann, 249.
11. Such partisanship challenged the relationships between the merchants and had the potential to disrupt the harmonious and profitable functioning of the various business interests housed in the *Fondaco*. As such, it

is worth considering two specific examples of the various internal struggles that put stress on the community of German merchants. These sorts of disputes, and the power dynamics they represent, are emblematic of the manifold issues that required resolution if the merchants wished to create and project a publicly unified identity. One recurring argument concerned the use and promotion of serving staff at the *Fondaco* and another centered on the use of messengers to the advantage of one side and the detriment of the other. The Nuremburg faction complained that the Regensburgers took advantage of moments when they held a majority voice in the *Fondaco* to out vote their peers on matters of staffing. According to members of the Nuremburg table, these actions were taken to entrench more firmly the Regensburg faction by promoting servants loyal to them and not to the Nuremburgers. In addition, the Nuremburg group accused the Regensburgers of directing messengers tasked with taking business correspondence between Venice and imperial cities to proceed with haste when handling missives from the Regensburg table but to tarry when handling those of the Nuremburg group. Such delays put the Nuremburg merchants at a disadvantage especially when negotiating time-sensitive business deals. See, for example, "German Merchants in Venice: Fondaco dei Tedeschi 1225–1510," 99–100.

12. Hoffmann, 248 (esp. note 15); and Thomas, *Capitolare dei Visdomini del Fontego dei Todeschi in Venezia*.
13. "German Merchants in Venice: Fondaco dei Tedeschi 1225–1510"; Hoffman, "The Fondaco dei Tedeschi."
14. Braunstein, 412.
15. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt 1200–1500*. Mueller discusses the role of precious metals, coin, and exchange in the context of Venetian banking. His analysis of the money market, credit, and liquidity is too complex to recount in brief here.
16. Mueller, 236.
17. Mueller, 233, 248.
18. For more on the types of citizenship and the benefits they offered, see: Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*; See Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*; and Ravid, "Venice and its Minorities," in Dursteler, ed. *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, 449–486.
19. Schmitter, 917, 938. Schmitter also notes that Manfredo Tafuri discusses the importance of *mediocritas* in Venice. Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, Levine, trans.
20. Ravid, 453.
21. To be sure, the Germans were not the only group segregated from Venetian society. By the late fifteenth century, for example, Jews were required to wear distinctive articles of clothing in Venice (and in other European cities) to announce their religious difference.

22. Cited in Chambers and Pullan, eds. 328.
23. Finlay, 50.
24. Ravid, 169–202.
25. Fabri, Vol. 1, 79.
26. Fabri, Vol. 1, 80.
27. Fabri, Vol. 1, 80–81.
28. See, for example, Chojnacki, *Men and Women in Renaissance Venice. Twelve Essays on Patrician Society.*
29. Romano, 339–353.
30. Romano, 340–341.
31. Heaton, 77.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., Heaton notes in her critical analysis of the letter that poisoning was often used on the Italian peninsula (or at least it was the perception that it was common) to dispose of a rival.
34. Heaton, 84.
35. Gonzalez de Lara notes the role that public reputation played in the efficient functioning of Venetian business relationships, 247–285.
36. Häberlein, 44.
37. Ibid.
38. Mueller, 241–251.
39. Ibid., 245.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 236.
42. Ibid., 236–237.
43. Lutz, 39–40.
44. Ibid., 41. "…solch geselschaft als ain bruderschaft geacht ist und sy sich underainander mit lieb und true mainen und halten sollen wie geprieder …".
45. Zimmerman and Whittaker, 17. Lutz, *Conrad Peutinger*, notes "Innerhalb ihres Kreises gilt es, die Modalitäten der Wirtshaftsunternehmungen in freundschaftlicher Einsichtigkeit nach dem Maßstab der bona aequitas [of Aristotle] zu regeln," 41.
46. O'Rourke and Williamson, 655–684.
47. Ibid., 669. The authors note (p. 677), "Under the Portuguese hegemony, German, Hansa, and English merchants could make the relatively easy trip to Antwerp to exchange copper, silver, woolen cloth, and other items for Asian trade goods. Under the Venetian hegemony, those goods had to cross the Alpine passes before continuing on their long journey south or north."
48. Finlay, 50.
49. Heaton, 90.
50. Oakes, 481.

51. Morrall, 109. The author states: "Dürer's inclusion of [King and Pope] therefore might be understood as a symbolic hope for reconciliation and peace between factions." I agree that there is an international dimension to the desire for reconciliation and accord that seems present in the image. I think, however, that it goes much deeper than that. My argument extends Morrall's astute observation and expands it to include a local/personal aspect that I think was of critical importance to the Germans living in Venice generally and to the merchants at the *Fondaco* in particular.
52. Humfrey, *The Renaissance Altarpiece in Venice*, 119.
53. Schmitter, "Virtuous Riches," and Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*.
54. Winston-Allen, 4.
55. Winston-Allen, 4.
56. Brown, 39.
57. Humfrey, *The Renaissance Altarpiece in Venice*, 120. Humfrey notes "although there had existed guild confraternities for the large numbers of German bale-binders, bakers and cobblers, there had not previously existed a confraternity for the German community as a whole."
58. Mackenney, 172–189; Muir, 188. Mackenney states, "… sources suggest that there may well have been a close but essentially non-political identification between the Virgin and Venice herself." Muir states, "The Venetians, indeed, assiduously venerated the Virgin Mary. Her cult was so popular and so ancient that, like many other cities, Venice was often identified as the city of the Virgin. For the northern origins of the Rosary, see: Winston-Allan, *Stories of the Rose*.
59. Pullan, 8; and Martin, 53.
60. Martin, 53.
61. Mackenney, 179.
62. Pullan, Chap. 12, p. 275.
63. Pullan, Chap. 9, 27.
64. Pullan, Chap. 9, 8.
65. Pullan, Chap. 9, 8.
66. Muir, 5. My translation of *civilità* as "civic-mindedness" is an attempt to get at the more nuanced meaning of the term, which Muir notes often is incorrectly (in his estimation at least) understood as "civilization." If my reading of the word is in grave error, I alone bear responsibility for the mistake.
67. Kotkova, passim.
68. Humfrey, "Dürer's Feast of the Rosegarlands," 25.
69. Mueller, 285.
70. Ibid.
71. Terpstra, ed. *The Politics of Ritual Kinship*. See also Muir, 212–250.

72. See, for example: Terpstra, ed. *The Politics of Ritual Kinship*, Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual*, and Brian Pullan, "Religious brotherhoods in Venice."
73. Romano, 341.
74. To be sure, women played substantial roles in business and politics but were either in highly supervised roles (e.g. widows allowed limited interest in their deceased husband's business) or worked behind the scenes using influence and brokering deals between family lines. See, also, Chojnacki, *Men and Women in Renaissance Venice*.
75. For the concept of using ritual events/moments to renegotiate an individual or group's status, see among others: Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*.
76. The Jewish community included doctors as well as pawn brokers/bankers. Doctors were broadly tolerated but the brokers/bankers were seen as usurers. The Venetian authorities tolerated the financial services they offered but saw them as potentially disruptive to Christian society (see, for example: Ravid, "The Legal Status of Jews in Venice to 1509," and Mueller, passim). Turks, and other Muslims, were tolerated as necessary connections to the Levantine trade. Such tolerance was a political necessity for maintaining trade relations with the Ottomans but many leaders in Christian society considered the presence of Muslims a threat to the Christian faith. Until the reconciliation of the Orthodox and Latin Churches, Greeks were also objects of suspicion based on religious differences.
77. There is potentially another female figure hidden behind the Virgin's raised left arm but the position of the Virgin's limb makes it difficult to ascertain the gender of the head.
78. See for example: Lodder, *Lachen om List en Lust. Studies over de Middelnederlandse komische versvertellingen* (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Leiden, 1997). Lodder notes that the recurrent themes of cuckoldry, female trickery, and social jockeying found throughout these traditions reflects an anxiety among readers and listeners that they could become victims of such deceits if they were not constantly on guard.

CHAPTER 7

"The Monster, Death, Becomes Pregnant:" Representations of Motherhood in Female Transi Tombs from Renaissance France

Marian Bleeke

The transi sculpture of Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme, Countess of Auvergne, (d. 1511, sculpture c. 1520, Fig. 7.1), a sculpture of her dead body that originally formed part of her tomb located in the convent of the Cordeliers (Franciscans) in Vic-le-Comte and is now in the Louvre, confronts its beholders with a graphic image of post-mortem decay.[1] Jeanne's face is skeletal, the skin peels away from her chest, worms protrude from gaps in the flesh on her abdomen, and her entrails burst out of her body. However, the sculpture combines these marks of death with a strikingly lively image of Jeanne herself. She is positioned upright, as the transi was originally attached to the wall above her horizontal tomb chest which supported a supine effigy sculpture. Her feet are positioned as if she is stepping forward, out of the niche that surrounds her, and

Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 91.

M. Bleeke (✉)
Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_7

Fig. 7.1 Transi of Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme, duchesse de Bourbon, later comtesse de Boulogne et d'Auverge. Auvergne, France. First quarter of the sixteenth century. From the église of the Cordeliers (Vic-le-Comte, Puy-de-Dome). RF 1212. Photo: René-Gabriel Ojèda/Thierry Le Mage. Musée du Louvre. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

that sense of movement is reinforced as her left hand extends in front of the niche's architectural frame. At the same time, she twists her head away from that extended hand, as if conflicted about her movements, and she presses her right hand against her lower abdomen, as if trying to hold her bursting body together.

Furthermore, the sculpture's dead and yet lively body is also a distinctly female one. The peeling flesh on her chest circles, frames, and so emphasizes her left breast, and the inward gesture of her right hand resembles the *pudica* pose of a classical Venus or Aphrodite. Finally, when seen from a point of view that highlights the sculpture's

three-dimensionality, from below—for example—as it would originally have been seen when mounted on the wall above the rest of Jeanne's tomb, the gathered folds of the shroud on her lower abdomen, topped off by the swirl of her entrails above, creates a protruding abdomen that suggests the swelling form of a pregnant female body. Seen from this angle, likewise, her inward gesture becomes one of support for this potential pregnancy.

Thus, to slightly rephrase the quote from Bakhtin that I appropriated for the title of this essay, death appears pregnant in this sculpture and this conjunction of opposites confronts us with a monster. But what kind of monster is this? Is this a monstrous "other," or would it have been regarded as such by beholders in its own time? And how do its monstrosity and its potential otherness relate to its gender as female/feminine? After exploring the relationship between monstrosity, otherness, and gender as they shape beholders' responses to the sculpture, I argue that rather than forming an image of otherness, Jeanne's transi instead pictured the everyday monstrosity of motherhood for medieval and early modern women. Indeed, as a result of Jeanne's likely patronage of her own tomb, her transi's monstrous form may represent aspects of her own maternal experience.

I then use this reading of Jeanne's transi as a key to understanding the transis of three successive French queens, Anne of Brittany (d. 1514), Claude of France (d. 1524), and Catherine de Medici (d. 1589), each of whom was buried alongside her kingly husband at Saint-Denis. Transis are unusual in royal tombs and these are unusual transis in that they minimize or eliminate the marks of decay typically seen on such sculptures. The monstrosity of motherhood that found recognition in the lively, dead, and yet pregnant form of Jeanne's transi seems to have been refused in the case of the queens' sculptures in order to emphasize the—often endangered—dynastic continuity of the Valois kings. Finally, I argue that Catherine de Medici used the strikingly lively body of her own transi sculpture to present her motherhood as a source of her power first as regent for her son, Charles IX, and then as an active participant in his reign and that of his brother, Henry III. Thus like Jessen Kelly's contribution to this volume, the later portions of this essay emphasize the persuasive power of works of art and the shaping of representations of women's bodies to serve ideological ends.

Monstrosity, Otherness, and Gender

The contrast between my rephrasing of the Bahktin quote above and its original form as used in my title suggests a conflict between two different ways of thinking about monstrosity and its relationship to both otherness and gender. The original quote, "The monster, death, becomes pregnant," apparently structures an appositional relationship between the words "monster" and "death," and in so doing, the syntax seems to identify the monster with death itself.[2] This relationship between "the monster" and "death," furthermore, suggests understanding both within a logic of oppositions—the monster as opposed to the human, death as opposed to life, and finally, the other as opposed to the self. Reading these pairs together, the deathly monster would stand as other to the living human self. However, Jeanne's transi troubles these identities and oppositions by picturing a clearly dead body as lively and as apparently pregnant and so by placing death in an immediate relationship with its opposite, life. Recent scholarship on monstrosity in medieval and early modern culture by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, Sarah Alison Miller, and others, likewise identities the monstrous not as a stable term within a logic of categories and classifications, but instead as the product of the collapse of categories and the breaking down of their defining boundaries.[3] Jeanne's transi becomes monstrous as it enacts this collapse, bringing together death and life as well as the human and the non-human—as the worms infest her flesh—and the inside and the outside—as her flesh peels back from her chest and as her entrails burst from her body. In this way, the sculpture recalls one of Miller's examples of monstrosity, the figure of Sin from *Paradise Lost*, who gives birth to dogs that then eat their way back into her flesh and so joins life to death, the human to the animal, and the interior to the exterior.[4]

The monster as the product of category collapse and boundary breakdown, furthermore, cannot form a stable other to the self, but breaks down this opposition as well, positioning otherness as necessary, proximate, even interior to the self.[5] The result is something similar to Julia Kristeva's concept of the "abject" as that which must be rejected in order to constitute the self, but that continually returns to undermine the self, and so must be constantly repelled—and so must *be*—in order for the self to continue to exist.[6] There is no self without the other, no humanity without the monster, no life without death, and vice versa. This dynamic of abjection renders Jeanne's monstrous transi both repellent

and fascinating to its beholders. Repelled by its graphic representation of death and decay, a beholder might want to look away from it, and so to press it away as other to him or herself as a living being. However, Jeanne's striking liveliness and the sculpture's level of intricacy and detail work to draw its beholders back to look at it again and to look more closely at its forms. In this way the transi reasserts itself to become proximate to its beholders—perhaps prompting them to press it away once more, before it draws them back again, and so on…

The transi's apparent pregnancy, furthermore, identifies it as female or feminine as opposed to male or masculine. However, the force of monstrosity in violating distinctions and breaching boundaries also has the power to trouble the oppositional structure of gender. Cohen writes of the role given to femininity in the ongoing and contested construction of masculinity through abjection. According to Cohen, femininity is that which must be refused in order for the masculine self to live as a human and so it is continually pressed to the side of the other, however, it nevertheless continually returns to threaten the existence of the masculine self.[7] Both Cohen and Miller write that the feminine is abjected from the masculine self in a specific form, which is the maternal. The feminine as the maternal is necessary to the self because it is the source and origin of the self, of its life: one must be born, necessarily from a mother, in order to live. However, the maternal as the conduit for life and the creation of the self is conversely also a threat to the life of the self. For when the self originated in the mother, it was not a self but was part of the mother, and so it must reject the mother in order to exist, to live, as a self, as a separate being. The maternal therefore must be pressed away from the self and towards the other in order for the self to be—and yet it will always return for without the mother/other there could be no self—and in its returning it threatens the being of the self by threatening its dissolution back into its place of origins.

Miller explains how this pattern of thinking shaped medieval perceptions of menstrual blood as both the literal stuff of life, the matter from which a child was formed in its mother's womb, and a noxious substance capable of poisoning animals, infecting children, and causing leprosy and cancer if contacted through intercourse with a menstruating woman.[8] Jeanne's transi's female, pregnant, and yet decaying form likewise monstrously combines maternity's promise of life with the threat of death and this would have rendered it a distressing as well as a repellent and a fascinating sight for its beholders. The Franciscan friars at Vic-le-Comte,

for example, would not have been able to press it away as other to themselves, despite its apparent femininity. Instead, these male beholders would have been implicated in its monstrous maternity as it reminded them of their own origins, in their mothers' wombs, while simultaneously reminding them of the deathly qualities attributed to women's bodily interiors and fluids. These beholders would thus have been implicated as well by the threat of death embodied by the transi's marks of decay and by their violation of the sculpted body's borders. Rather than forming an "other" to its beholders, Jeanne's transi would thus have constituted a threat to its beholders' selves.

The Monstrosity of Motherhood in Renaissance France

The previous section considered the monstrosity of motherhood as emerging from theoretically established relationships between monstrosity, otherness, and gender. Based on this analysis, Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme's transi sculpture represents a monstrous maternal form as it brings together life and death, the human and the animal, the interior and the exterior, and as its relationship of repulsion and fascination with its beholders allowed it to both remind them of their origins and threaten their demise. Following this, I now consider the monstrosity of motherhood as it appeared in the lives and experiences of early modern men and—particularly—women. And I ask if and how Jeanne's own maternal experiences may have found expression in the monstrous form of her transi sculpture.

One way in which monstrosity entered the experiences of early modern men and women was in the form of "monstrous births," the category used for various types of birth defects and deformities as well as for conjoined twins.[9] Defects and deformities were often understood as human/animal hybrids and thus as monstrous in breaking the boundary between the human and the non-human, similar to the worms that infest Jeanne's transi's flesh. Example of such hybrids would include the so-called Ravenna and Krakow monsters as well as the "Pope ass" and the "monk calf," the latter two of which were represented in woodcuts by Lucas Cranach.[10] Conjoined twins were typically described in terms of excess and/or deficiency, as having too many body parts and/or too few, and became monstrous by violating the boundaries between bodies and so between persons. Examples would include the Worms and Ertingen twins, both of which were represented in popular printed broadsheets.[11]

The monstrosity of conjoined twins was somewhat comparable to the bursting of Jeanne's transi's bodily boundaries as her entrails are extruded to become part of her apparent pregnancy and so part of the potential creation of another being.

Interest in monstrous births, as measured in surviving records of their occurrence, increased across the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park write of how this interest differed from the earlier, medieval, focus on the monstrous or marvelous exotic races that were understood to populate the margins of the world. The races themselves are a tradition that dates back to Pliny the Elder and includes the headless Blemmys, one-footed Sciapods, and hermaphroditic Androgynes, all which are located in Africa on the thirteenth-century *Hereford Map*.[12] The monstrous races, Daston and Park write, were normal or even natural in their own parts of the world, and as they were located in the far reaches of the world, they were safely distanced from the lives and experiences of those who lived in its European center. By contrast, individual monstrous births were anomalies that erupted in that center, as opposed to distant lands, and were thus immediate to peoples' experiences there.[13] A monstrous infant posed practical problems for the people into whose lives it was born: was it even human? Should it be baptized? In a case of conjoined twins, should it be baptized as one person or as two?[14] Monstrous births also posed questions concerning their origins and significance. One longstanding tradition explained such infants as the products of the maternal imagination, that is, of the mother's ability to impress upon her child the form of her desires, fantasies, or whims, or simply of things that she saw.[15] In the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, monstrous births were more often understood as prodigies, as signs of divine disapproval and warnings of coming disasters that would be manifestations of God's wrath. In France, according to Daston and Park, interest in this interpretation of monstrous births peaked in the 1560s through the early 1580s and so within the context of the Wars of Religion.[16]

Nevertheless, monstrous births were exceptional events. Early modern people were more likely to encounter them in texts and images than directly in the flesh. Reports of monstrous births appeared in a wide variety of printed forms including more popular broadsheets and pamphlets as well as more elite books, which would have given these reports a broad audience.[17] It is because of their exceptionality, furthermore, that monstrous births gained their power as prodigies: God made himself

known by violating the regular course of events. Motherhood as a predictable feature of the human experience may also have been invested with perceptions of monstrousness by early modern men and women due to high rates of both maternal and infant mortality. Significant numbers of women died in childbirth, and significant numbers of children were born dead or died soon after their birth, and in this way pregnancy and childbirth brought life and death together, regularly and repeatedly.[18] For early modern men, this was a proximate form of monstrosity, one that joined life with death in their lives and in their homes as their wives and other female relatives became pregnant and gave birth. For early modern women, this was an immediate form of monstrosity, one that they embodied with each pregnancy.

The monstrosity of motherhood in the experiences of early modern women is well documented in the reproductive histories of two French queens, Anne of Brittany and her daughter Claude of France. Anne of Brittany was married to King Charles VIII in 1491, when she was fourteen years old, and she bore her first child, Charles-Orlando, one year later. During her two marriages, the first to Charles and the second to King Louis XII (in 1499), Anne was pregnant at least eleven times. From these eleven pregnancies, however, only two children survived into adulthood: her daughters Claude and Renée, both from her marriage to Louis. Her first child, the dauphin Charles-Orlando, died after only a few years (b. 1492, d. 1495), his brother Charles after a few months, and their sister Anne after only a few hours. Three of her pregnancies ended in miscarriages and her last child was stillborn. Anne was bedridden for eleven months after the birth of that last child and then died two years later, in 1514, at only thirty-six years old.[19] Likewise, Claude of France was married and began childbearing at a young age: she was fifteen in 1514 when she married her father's heir, the future Francis I, and her first child was born a year later, but died after only two years. Claude experienced repeated and risky pregnancies, bearing seven children in only eight years. Although she did not have her mother's history of miscarriages and stillbirths, and the majority of her children reached adulthood, her health also declined rapidly after the birth of her last child and she died a year later in 1524. She was twenty-four years old.[20]

A wide variety of texts and images further demonstrate medieval and early modern women's awareness of the precarious position between life and death that they occupied during pregnancy and childbirth.[21] One popular set of texts and images, those related to St. Margaret of Antioch,

gave that precarious position a monstrous form. Margaret was reported to have been swallowed by a dragon and then to have burst forth whole from his belly after making the sign of the cross. She was a popular saint for women to pray to during labor, asking to be delivered from danger, even death, as Margaret had been.[22] Images of Margaret, such as a miniature in the thirteenth-century Psalter Hours of Yolande of Soisson, often show her emerging from the dragon's body and so monstrously combining the human with the non-human and breaking the boundary between the interior and the exterior even as she defies the separation between death and life.[23] Margaret's monstrous form in such images thus recalls Jeanne's transi with its squirming worms in human flesh, its extruded entrails, and its peeling flesh, all combined with a lively, active, and even pregnant body.

Like her contemporary, Anne of Brittany, Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme was married twice and had two surviving daughters. Her first marriage was in 1487 to John II, Duke of Bourbon; she was twenty-two and he was in his sixties. She was his third wife; his second, Catherine of Armagnac, had recently died in giving birth to his first child, a son, who died soon after. One year later, in 1488, Jeanne too gave birth to a son, who also died soon after birth, and then John died in that same year. In 1495, Jeanne married John III, Count of Auvergne, and again one year later she gave birth to their first child, a daughter named Anne. She was followed by a second daughter, Madeleine, but before this John also died, in 1501. Thus Jeanne's maternal experience was somewhat different from Anne and Claude's experiences; she was married later and had fewer pregnancies. This difference likely has to do with Anne and Claude's shared role as queen of France and the need for the queen to provide a male heir to the kingdom.[24] However, Jeanne's experiences do also demonstrate the monstrous joining of life and death that occurred in early modern women's encounters with pregnancy and childbirth.

Jeanne's transi's marks of death combined with its lively form and its potential pregnancy suggest a relationship between this sculpture and Jeanne's own experiences with pregnancy and childbirth. Although nothing is known of the circumstances of the production of Jeanne's tomb, it is possible that her experiences of motherhood may have found expression in the monstrous form of her transi sculpture through the influence of her patronage.[25] The contract for another, similar, but slightly later tomb, that of Valentine Balbiani (d. 1573, tomb 1573–1574), demonstrates the influence that patrons had on the design of

funerary monuments. In the case of Balbiani's tomb, the patron was her surviving husband, René de Birague. His contract with the sculptor Germain Pilon specifies the inclusion of two representations of Valentine; one identified in the contract as the "annothomie," a transi sculpture, and the second as the "accoudée," a reclining figure propped up on her elbow.[26] Furthermore, Pamela King has identified two examples of female transi or cadaver tombs in fifteenth-century England that were the products of the women's own patronage; those of Alice Chaucer (also known as Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk) and Isabel Despenser. Alice Chaucer outlived her third husband by twenty-five years and, despite provisions made by both her second and third husbands for her to be buried by their sides, she apparently chose to be buried with her father's family in a tomb that included both an effigy figure and a transi.[27] Isabel Despenser likewise outlived two husbands to be buried alone at Tewkesbury Abbey. Demonstrating the power of her patronage, she described the transi figure that she desired for her tomb in her will in some detail, specifying "my Image to be made all naked, and no thyng on my hede but myn here cast backwards."[28]

Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme, who had also outlived both of her husbands, may have likewise been the patron for her tomb and transi, and so may also have had some say in the sculpture's form. She may have begun the monument while she was still alive, in preparation for her death, or she may have made provisions for it in a will that has not survived.[29] Or, it may have been Jeanne's daughters, possibly her elder daughter Anne who was the primary heir, who ordered the tomb and transi. The royal monuments discussed in the next section include two that were produced by the next generation for deceased parents or parents-in-law. Anne had her own maternal difficulties that may likewise have shaped her mother's monument: married in 1505 to John Stewart, the Duke of Albany, she had only one daughter, who died in her teens. In either case, it is at least possible that a woman's own experiences with motherhood informed the monstrous form of Jeanne's transi.

The Transis of Anne of Brittany and Claude of France

As well as having similar maternal experiences, Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme, Anne of Brittany, and Claude of France were each buried in a tomb that included a transi sculpture of the woman's dead body

Fig. 7.2 Funerary monument of King Louis XII and Queen Anne of Brittany. By Giovanni di Giusto Betti. Abbey church of Saint Denis, France. 1516–1531. Photo: Manuel Cohen/Art Resource, NY

(Figs. 7.2 and 7.3).[30] However, Anne and Claude's tombs and transis differ substantially from Jeanne's monument and sculpture. In particular, the queens' transis lack the monstrous qualities of Jeanne's; they do not share its clear marks of death and decay, nor its upright and lively form, nor its apparent pregnancy. Comparing Jeanne's transi to the queens' serves, on the one hand, to highlight the exceptionality of Jeanne's sculpture in apparently recognizing the monstrous qualities of her experience of motherhood, again perhaps as a result of her patronage of the artwork. On the other hand, the comparison also serves to shed new light on the significance of the royal tombs. These monuments appear to have denied the monstrous aspects of the queens' maternal experiences in order to instead make a claim to dynastic continuity for the Valois kings. The tombs needed to make this claim because it was largely false. Anne did not have a surviving son, only two daughters, and women were

Fig. 7.3 Transi of Claude of France (1499–1524) from the Funerary Monument of Francois I (1494–1547) and Claude of France. By Pierre Bontemps, commissioned by Henry II. Abbey church of Saint Denis, France. 1548–1570. Photo: Manuel Cohen/Art Resource, NY

excluded from inheriting the French throne.[31] Therefore, when Louis XII died, the throne passed to Francis I as his closest surviving male relative and Claude became queen as Francis' wife, not in her own right as the daughter of the previous king. The tombs in which Anne and Claude were buried, each with her kingly husband, served to mask this shift from the Orleans to the Angoulême branches of the house of Valois.[32]

As noted above, the transis in these royal monuments—and both the queens and the kings are represented by transi sculptures—are significant different from Jeanne's. In particular, the royal forms lack Jeanne's transi's clear marks of death, dissolution, and decay; the peeling flesh, squirming worms, and extruded entrails. Anne and Louis' sculptures are marked by stitches from the embalming process that removed their organs for separate burial, but Claude and Francis' transis lack even that bodily mark of death. This absence of clear marks of decay on the royal transis has been a focus of the scholarship on these sculptures. For Erwin Panofsky and Kathleen Cohen, the apparently undecayed forms of

these transis marked the end point in a narrative of change leading from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.[33] For Cohen, the content of this change was a shift from medieval anxiety to Renaissance optimism, with the more obviously decaying medieval transis intended to humiliate the self in hope of securing a place in heaven and the undecayed Renaissance sculptures expressing instead a confidence in the dead person's future resurrection.[34] However, seeing such a pattern of change in these sculptures requires setting Jeanne's transi aside, as it clearly does not fit the pattern due to its combination of a clearly decaying form with a Renaissance date (c. 1520). Thus Panofsky mentions Jeanne's transi only briefly as an exception, while Cohen mentions only the shell-like shape of the arched enclosure over Jeanne's head as a potential symbol of resurrection, and this only in a footnote.[35] Integrating rather than marginalizing Jeanne's transi, as I do here, requires moving beyond generalizations about the Renaissance to recognize differences within this group of transi sculptures and so to recognize the specific interests and circumstances that shaped each of these artworks. These include Jeanne's maternal experiences combined with her potential patronage of her tomb and the problem of dynastic continuity for the Valois kings as introduced above.

Anne and Claude's transis' lack of marks of dissolution and decay renders them less clearly dead than Jeanne is in her transi sculpture. At the same time, the queens' sculptures are also less lively than Jeanne's; for where Jeanne's transi was positioned vertically on the wall above her horizontal effigy and tomb, the royal transis are placed horizontally within tomb chambers that occupy the lower levels of their tomb structures. This horizontal positioning means that the royal transis do not share Jeanne's sculpture's active and mobile stance. As both less dead and less lively than Jeanne's sculpture, the royal transis lack its monstrous quality as they do not force death and life into close combination. The queens' transis also differ from Jeanne's in showing Anne and Claude alongside their royal husbands, whereas Jeanne was buried and represented on her own. The closest visual comparison for these paired transis is the double-effigy tomb, which placed clothed horizontal effigy figures of the husband and wife side by side in death. According to Paul Binski, this form of tomb developed in the Middle Ages as a way of representing the state of marriage.[36] The paired royal transis differ from this type of tomb representation primarily in the sculptures' nudity, which calls attention to their essentially unmarred and even rather idealized bodies. The royal bodies are somewhat activated, furthermore, by their

arm gestures that reach down and across their bodies to secure their shrouds over their genitalia. For the queens, this gesture also frames and so emphasizes their breasts. These gestures work to subtly sexualize the royal bodies, suggesting that these are not simply married couples but also conjugal and so reproductive pairs. Taken together, these differences between Jeanne's transi and the royal sculptures reject the monstrous qualities of Jeanne's image and so deny the difficulties of the queens' maternal experiences in order to emphasize instead the reproductive potential of the royal couples.

Such an emphasis on the royal couple's, and in particular the king's, reproductive ability even—and especially even—in the face of death, would have been of a piece with aspects of contemporary French monarchal ideology. As Sarah Hanley writes, beginning in the fifteenth, and continuing into the sixteenth centuries, French writers developed the idea Hanley refers to as the "king's one body," which was summarized by Jean Bodin in 1576 in the phrase "the king never dies."[37] This stands in opposition to the more well-known notion of the "king's two bodies," which separates the immortal "body" of kingship as an office, from the mortal "body" of the individual king; the latter might die, but the former would not.[38] The king's one body, according to Hanley, was also an undying body, because it was a constantly regenerating body, one that repeatedly came into being through reproduction in the passing of the king's "seed" on to his son. This was premised on an Aristotelian understanding of reproductive biology that identified male "seed" as the active forming principle and reduced the female role in reproduction to supplying the menstrual matter from which the child was formed.[39] To bring these differing ideas about kingship to the royal tombs and their sculptures, both Anne and Louis', and Claude and Francis' tombs include two representations of the queen and the king; the paired transis in the lower tomb chambers and paired kneeling figures known as *priants* on their upper stories. Nevertheless, Cohen argues against seeing this doubling of the queens and kings in terms of the "king's two bodies" as neither image of the king represents him in robes of state and so neither seems to represent the royal office. Instead, Cohen argues that the priants represent the royal couples' souls in prayer before God, while the transis represent their mortal bodies returning to dust.[40] However, given the lack of clear signs of death and decay on these bodies, taken in combination with their subtly sexualized nudity, they may best be understood in terms of the "king's one body," as suggesting the undying status of

the French monarchy as achieved through royal reproduction. This suggestion, furthermore, would again have worked to mask the fact that Louis' "seed" had not been regenerated in a surviving son and that this failure of royal regeneration had brought Francis to the throne.

The preceding discussion of the differences between Jeanne's transi and the royal sculptures should have also indicated the strong similarities between Anne and Louis' and Claude and Francis' tombs. To review: both monuments include paired transis of the king and queen, with undecayed forms, that are placed horizontally within a chamber that forms the lower level of the tomb. Both also include the kneeling priant figures of the king and queen on the tomb's upper platform. Furthermore, both pairs of transis include one figure with an arched back and thrown-back head—Anne and Francis—and one with a softer and more sunken appearance—Louis and Claude. Because of these similarities, the two tombs clearly belong to the same "family" of monuments, which serves to suggest that their occupants belong to the same family grouping, as two generations of one family. Thus these similarities between the tombs again serve to make the claim to dynastic continuity by masking the disruption caused by Francis' ascent to throne. And this visualization of dynastic continuity is further extended to a third generation by one of the major differences between the two monuments; the inclusion of priant figures of three of Claude and Francis' children on the upper story of their tomb.

Indeed, one of these children, Francis' successor Henry II, was likely the patron of Claude and Francis' tomb, for it was completed during his reign. Thus it was likely Henry who chose to use his parents' tomb in order to make the claim to continuity reaching both backwards to Anne and Louis, through the overall form of the tomb, and forwards, through the additional priants, to his own reign. Henry may have felt a need to reinforce his position as king as he was Claude and Francis' second son and only became Francis' heir after the death of his elder brother, Francis III. In building an elaborate tomb for his parents and his predecessor as king, Henry would have been actively continuing on from his father, for it was likewise Francis who built Anne and Louis' tomb, as it was not completed until 1535, ten years after their daughter Claude's death. By building this impressive monument for Anne and Louis, Francis would have demonstrated his affiliation to them and so again staked his claim to continuity from Louis' reign into his own. Finally, the difference in patronage between the royal tombs and Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme's

may shed light on the visible differences between the queens' transis and Jeanne's sculpture. Where Jeanne may have used her patronage to produce an image that reflected the reality of women's maternal experiences in its monstrous form, Francis and Henry instead used their patronage to produce monuments that presented the fiction of untroubled patrilineal descent for the French crown. The non-monstrous, even idealized, forms of the queens' transis played into that fiction by denying the difficulties of their experiences as mothers.

One additional similarity between the two royal tombs reinforces my reading of them both as making a claim to dynastic continuity: both are located in the church of the abbey of Saint-Denis. This church was the traditional burial place of French kings—traditional, that is, since that tradition was essentially invented in the thirteenth century during the reign of Louis IX (St. Louis). While previous rulers had been buried at Saint-Denis, burial there was not a rule in the early Middle Ages and the original royal burials were modest, some were even unmarked.[41] Under Louis IX, the rulers already buried in the church were reinterred in new tombs, each of which featured an effigy sculpture of the deceased. This move increased the deceased rulers' visibility within the church and so emphasized the church's role as a royal burial place. At the same time, the royal tombs were reorganized into two lines, one for Merovingian and Carolingian rulers and the other for the Capetians, both of which stretched westward from the high altar. In between the two lines were tombs for Louis IX's grandfather, Phillip Augustus; his father, Louis VIII; and for St. Louis himself. This arrangement emphasized the connection between the Capetians and the Carolingians created by Phillip Augustus' marriage to Isabelle de Hainault and so Louis VIII and St. Louis' claim to descent from both lines.[42] Louis IX's grandson, Phillip the Fair, likewise used the tombs to make his own claims about his kingship: he reorganized the burials to integrate the Merovingians and Carolingians with the Capetians to downplay the distinction between the dynasties and continue his predecessors' claims to descent from both.[43] Finally, Phillip V established a new area for royal burials in the church, near the steps leading from the transept to the altar, that was subsequently used by his brother Charles VI, and then by the first two Valois kings, Phillip VI and John II; the location of these last two burials made a claim for continuity from the last of the Capetians into the new dynasty.[44] Thus from its invention as the traditional royal burial site, Saint-Denis was a site for making visible claims to dynastic continuity through the creation of royal

tombs. Given this background, the construction of elaborate tombs in Saint-Denis may have appeared to both Francis I and Henry II to be an obvious means of staking their own claims.

The Transis of Catherine de Medici

The claim to dynastic continuity that Francis and Henry produced through the royal tombs they created for their predecessors was further extended with a tomb at Saint-Denis for Henry II himself along with his queen, Catherine de Medici (Fig. 7.4).[45] That claim to continuity was produced by the form of this third tomb, which is very similar to the preceding two monuments and like them includes both transi and priant sculptures of the king and queen. However, Catherine's transi differs significantly from Anne and Claude's and the tomb itself was, most likely, a product of Catherine's own patronage: it was begun after Henry's death

Fig. 7.4 Transis of Henry II (1519–1559) and Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589). By Germain Pilon. From their funerary monument created by Francesco Primaticcio, commissioned by Catherine de' Medici at the death of Henry II. Abbey church of Saint Denis, France. Completed in 1570. Photo: Manuel Cohen/Art Resource, NY

in 1559 and completed in approximately 1570, well before Catherine's own demise in 1589. Furthermore, during the years of its construction, Catherine was first acting as regent for her young son, Charles IX, and then remained active in his government.[46] As previous scholars have argued, Catherine needed to construct a public self-image that would support her power during her sons' reigns, both that of Charles and later that of Henry III.[47] Constructing the tomb for Henry II and herself provided Catherine with an opportunity to do just that by shaping her own image in death in a way that would serve her interests during her life. I argue here that she did so, in part, through her transi sculpture by using it to present her motherhood as a source of her power. To do so, however, Catherine had to deny the more monstrous aspects of her own maternal experiences.

Catherine and Henry's tomb shares the overall form of Anne and Louis' and Claude and Francis' monuments. It too has the lower, enclosed, tomb chamber that contains the transi sculptures of the queen and the king, and the upper platform that supports priant figures of the royal pair. And Catherine and Henry's transis, like those of the previous kings and queens, show no visible signs of decay. This tomb is thus clearly a third member in the "family" of monuments that includes the other two royal tombs and so it continues those tombs' claims to dynastic continuity into a third generation. And the continuity of kingship was again under threat at the time of the tomb's construction, first by the early and sudden death of Henry II in 1559—he was only forty years old and died from a jousting injury—and then by the brief reign and very early death of his and Catherine's eldest son, Francis II. Francis was only fifteen years old when he came to the throne in 1559, was sickly, and died one year later in 1560. His death brought his younger brother, Charles IX, to the throne when he was only ten years old and so in need of a regent to rule on his behalf—a position that Catherine claimed for herself. In response to this series of events, at the *Lit de Justice* assembly at which Charles asserted his majority in 1563, Chancellor l'Hôpital gave a speech that placed emphasis on the continuity of kingship, even in the face of death. He proclaimed that "the kingdom is never vacant, because there is a continuity from king to king so that as soon as the king's eyes close (in death) there is another king."[48] The construction of the tomb for Henry II presented an opportunity to make a similar claim through its resemblance to those for his two immediate predecessors. The three royal tombs visibly form a series that moves from king to king to king,

while the undecayed forms of the kings' transis downplay their individual deaths.

Of the two prior tombs, furthermore, Catherine and Henry's more closely resembles Anne and Louis', so that it looks back a generation in order to make its claim to dynastic continuity. First, like Anne and Louis' tomb, Catherine and Henry's includes only the two of them as priants, rather than also including sculptures of their children as was the case on Claude and Francis' tomb. This may be due to the fact that Catherine and Henry's surviving children were still very young when the tomb was built and that was a threat to the dynastic continuity to which it laid claim. Likewise, Catherine and Henry's tomb resembles Anne and Louis', to a degree, in the structure of its lower chamber: both have substantial bases with sculptures of the virtues seated at their four corners. However, the three tombs in fact differ substantially in the structure of their lower tomb chambers. Anne and Louis' is surrounded on all four sides first by a screen of arches and then by sculptures of the apostles seated in the arched openings. Claude and Francis' is open at its two ends, but has barrel vaulted spaces that close off its two sides. Catherine and Henry's is much more open than the other two: it is supported on columns rather than arches and is open at its sides as well as its ends. This openness makes Catherine and Henry's transis much more visible than those of their predecessors and that visibility invites attention to their sculptural form and to their relationships with others in the group of royal transis.

Henry's transi has an arched chest and thrown-back head, similar to Anne and Francis' sculptures. Based on the pattern established by the previous two monuments, of pairing one arched figure with a second more relaxed figure, one would expect that Catherine's transi would likewise share the softened and sunken form of Louis and Claude's. However, this expectation is broken by Catherine's sculpture, for it is distinctly different from all of the other royal transis. Where the others lie straight, merely reaching one hand up onto their bodies in order to secure their shrouds over their genitalia, Catherine's twists from side to side to side as she reaches her left arm over her breast, reaches her right arm and shroud across her body at the level of her genitalia, and bends her left knee and twists it towards her right leg.

As Erwin Panofsky, Kathleen Cohen, and Jeanice Brooks have each noted, Catherine's transi's distinctive twisting action makes reference to ancient sculptures of Venus.[49] Catherine would have been familiar with

ancient statuary from her time at the court of her uncle, Pope Clement VIII, as well as that of Francis I.[50] Brooks reads this reference as eroticizing Catherine's sculpture and so suggesting her ongoing love for Henry, a suggestion that would have formed part of an identification with Artemesia, the ancient queen of Caira, that Catherine developed after Henry's death.[51] Artemesia was both an inconsolable widow and a successful ruler and so provided an ancient exemplar that could justify Catherine's assertion of power. Catherine thus presented herself as similarly devoted to the memory of her dead husband: she never remarried and wore mourning dress for the rest of her life.[52] Likewise, Brooks and Sheila ffolliott both argue for connecting Catherine's construction of the tomb for herself and Henry to her identification with Artemesia, for the ancient queen likewise built an elaborate tomb for her departed husband, Mausolus.[53]

Venus had connotations other than erotic love, however, that could equally have been activated for Catherine by the twisting posture of her transi. In particular, Venus had a maternal aspect: as Aeneas' ancestor, she was a "mother" to the Roman emperors, and the Roman cult of Venus Verticordia promoted marriage and childbirth for ordinary Roman women.[54] This aspect of the goddess' identity led to the creation of funerary sculptures of ancient Roman matrons that celebrated their role as mothers by representing them with Venus' body, identified again by its distinctive twisting posture; with one arm crossed in front of her breasts, the other arm reaching towards her genitalia, and one leg bent in towards the other.[55] Although these are standing figures, they are strikingly similar to Catherine's transi in their conception, as funerary portraits of mortal women in Venus' guise, and that similarity suggests reading Catherine's sculpture too as a celebration of her motherhood. Indeed, even without the reference to Venus, Catherine's transi's twisting posture calls attention to her breasts and her genitalia, aspects of a woman's body that relate equally to sexuality and to reproduction. Like the other royal transis, Catherine's sculpture's nude, idealized, and even sexualized body, when placed next to the nude body of the king, suggests the royal couple's reproductive role in producing heirs for the kingdom. That is particularly true when Catherine and Henry's transis are considered within this series of tomb monuments and so as part of the tombs' collective claim to dynastic continuity.

Motherhood, furthermore, was an important part of Catherine's political identity. Catherine accumulated a number of classical and

mythological identities over time, beginning with her arrival in France to marry Henry, and many of these identities had a maternal aspect: she was Iris, a spring flower, and so associated with fertility; she was Cybele and so associated with the return from death to life; and she was Juno, mother of the Gods.[56] Likewise, the identification with Artemesia that she developed after Henry's death had a maternal aspect, for in texts and images produced for Catherine, Artemesia was presented as a wise mother preparing her son for rule.[57] Furthermore, Catherine explicitly presented her maternal role as justifying her power as regent during the early years of Charles IX's reign. She wrote that, in claiming the regency, she was acting to "help govern the state as a loving mother should."[58] She used a seal that carried her own image in place of the king's and included the text "Catherine, by Grace of God, Queen of France, Mother of the King."[59] As her children grew, finally, she generalized her motherhood to encompass the kingdom as a whole, rather than just the king. During the reign of her third son, Henry III, who came to the throne as an adult, she justified her continuing political role as a result of her "strong desire to be a mother to all of your subjects."[60] Catherine's own emphasis on her motherhood as a source of her power reinforces my reading of her transi's references to Venus, to Artemesia, and to her sexual relationship with Henry, in terms of her role as a mother to the king and so eventually to the kingdom.

In using her motherhood to justify her power, furthermore, Catherine typically cast her role as a mother as one of love and care—care for her sons and over time care for their state.[61] As Catherine Crawford argues, presenting her motherhood in this way allowed Catherine to justify her authority as regent for Charles as stemming from an accepted and expected female role, as a concerned and protective mother.[62] By presenting her motherhood in this light, Catherine downplayed the more monstrous aspects of her own maternal experiences, those that brought life together with death. For in identifying her motherhood with love and care, rather than with the bodily activities of pregnancy and childbirth, she directed attention away from the difficulties she had experienced in producing children for the kingdom. Like Anne and Claude, Catherine was married young, at fourteen years old, however, she did not bear her first child until ten years later, when she was twenty-four. That ten-year gap placed her marriage into jeopardy, for it suggested that she might be infertile and so might fail in her responsibility of providing an heir to the throne.[63] Again, like Anne and Claude, once

Catherine began to bear children, she had a large number within a short span of time—ten in the space of twelve years. And like her predecessors as queen, Catherine experienced losses in her role as a mother with her fourth child, a daughter named Louise, living for only one year (1559–1560). Catherine's last pregnancy, in 1556, with twin girls, must have been a particularly harrowing experience as one of the twins, Victoria, died in in utero and remained there for six hours, endangering Catherine's own life, until the infant's legs were broken in order to remove her from the womb. The second child, Joan, died after seven weeks.[64]

In representing her motherhood in her Venus-like transi sculpture, Catherine resomatized her maternity, reattaching it to her body rather than to her actions as a loving caretaker for her sons and their subjects. However, she also idealized her experience of the bodily processes of pregnancy and childbirth by rejecting the monstrous aspect of those experiences in bringing together life and death, rejecting in particular any reference to the early deaths of three of her children, or to her own near-death experience in childbirth. As noted above, Catherine's transi resembles the other royal sculptures in lacking any visible signs of dissolution or decay. Furthermore, the twisting posture given to her sculpture alone renders it particularly lively for a dead body. Indeed, Brooks suggests that Catherine's sculpture should not be seen as dead, and so should not be seen as a transi at all, but instead represents her as alive next to her dead husband as a way of emphasizing her ongoing dedication to him.[65] I contend that Catherine's sculpture should be seen as a transi because of its relationship with the other royal transis that appear in the same position on the other royal monuments. However, the comparison with the other queens' transis in analogous positions on the other tombs emphasizes the striking liveliness of Catherine's dead body. Although dead, Catherine in this transi is still a lively and so a potentially life-giving body. Returning to the terms used above to understand the body of the king, perhaps we are here seeing the queen's "one body," the generative body that provides for the future of the monarchy, only here identified with the queen instead of with the king. One of the strengths of the idea of the king's one body was that it naturalized the passing of power from father to son, and likewise, Catherine's transi could have naturalized her political role during her sons' reigns by attaching it to her biological motherhood.[66]

Catherine's rejection of references to death and decay in her transi, was made concrete in her apparent rejection of a first transi sculpture

of herself that was produced by Girolamo della Robbia, in favor of the sculpture by Germaine Pilon that actually appears as part of the tomb (Fig. 7.5).[67] The della Robbia sculpture shows her body as clearly dead, combining the arched chest and thrown-back head seen on Henry's and other royal transis with a wasted and almost skeletal body. Her collarbone and ribs are exposed, her abdomen is sunken in, and her arms and legs are ropey and emaciated. Catherine's rejection of the della Robbia for the Pilon sculpture may even have been informed by the transi with which I began this paper, that of Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme. For Jeanne was Catherine's maternal grandmother, and while Catherine would never have met Jeanne, she may well have seen Jeanne's tomb while visiting the lands in Auvergne that she had inherited through her mother. Catherine's two transis seem to pull apart the lively and deathly aspects that combined to form Jeanne's transi's monstrous whole, as the final Pilon sculpture seizes upon Jeanne's sculpture's lively mobile aspects, and the ultimately unwanted della Robbia on its clear marks of death and decay. It is almost as if Catherine was thinking through the combined forms of her grandmother's monstrous sculpture through the creation of these two transis of herself and choosing those aspects of the earlier transi that would work for her political self-representation as queen mother. She may have rejected della Robbia's deathly image because she did not want to be seen as wasting away while she held power on Charles' behalf and then continued to exercise power during his reign. She may have chosen instead the lively and so life-giving aspects of Jeanne's transi as captured by Pilon's sculpture in order to

Fig. 7.5 Transi of Catherine de' Medici. By Girolamo della Robbia. Hôtel de Nesles, France. 1565. cm. RF1515. Photo: Stéphane Maréchalle. Musée du Louvre. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

represent her motherhood, not as a monstrous experience, but instead as a source of her power.

Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme herself seems to have used her patronage of her tomb to represent the reality of her own maternal experiences, and those of early modern women in general, in the monstrous form of her transi. As Jeanne's motherhood brought life and death together in the early death of her son, followed by the death of her first husband, and as motherhood in general brought life and death together in the deaths of both infants and women in childbirth, so Jeanne's transi sculpture combines lively and deathly aspects while visibly troubling the boundaries between interior and exterior, the human and the animal. After Jeanne's death, this monstrous form would have acted on its beholders, fascinating and repelling them, while reminding them of their own origins and threatening their own deaths. The queens' transis, however, show how the difficult realities of motherhood for early modern women could be denied in order to serve ideological and political ends. Francis I and Henry II used their patronage of their predecessors' tombs to present a claim to dynastic continuity for the Valois kings, a claim that was important because it was essentially false. To make that claim, Anne of Brittany and Claude of France's difficult histories with pregnancy and childbirth were denied by the undecayed, idealized, and subtly sexualized forms their transis. Placed together with similar sculptures of their kingly husbands, these two queens' transis suggest instead the royal couples' role in guaranteeing the future of the monarchy by generating a continuous line of kings. Finally, Catherine de Medici seems to have used her patronage of her and Henry II's tomb to present her motherhood as a source of her power. To do so she denied the difficult aspects of her own maternal experiences to present herself, even in death, as a lively and so life-giving body.

Notes

1. On transis in general see Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*. On Jeanne's sculpture see Musée du Louvre, *Sculpture Française*, 527. Portions of my argument about Jeanne's transi will appear, in a different context, in my book *Motherhood and Meaning in Medieval Sculpture*, which is forthcoming from Boydell and Brewer Press.
2. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 91.
3. Cohen, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," 6–7; Mittman, "Introduction," 8; and Miller, *Medieval Monstrosity*.

4. Miller, "Monstrous Sexuality," 320–321.
5. Cohen, "Monster Culture," 7–8, 11–12, 19–20; Cohen, *Of Giants*, xiii–xix, xiv–xv, 21, 94–95, 134; Bildhauer and Mills, "Introduction," 8–9, 12–13, 18–23.
6. See Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*.
7. Cohen, *Of Giants*, 50–51, 68–69, 149, 159, 171.
8. Miller, *Medieval Monstrosity*, 4, 58–87.
9. On monstrous births see Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 173–214; and Spinks, *Monstrous Births*.
10. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 177–190, 192; Spinks, *Monstrous Births*, 59–79, 100–101; Huet, *Monstrous Imagination*, 21.
11. Spinks, *Monstrous Births*, 30–38, 46–48; Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 57, 192.
12. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 21–66; and on the monstrous races in general see Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*.
13. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 34–35, 48–49, 50–51, 173; likewise see Spinks, *Monstrous Births*, 14–23.
14. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 57, 65.
15. Huet, *Monstrous Imagination*, 1, 4–5, 21–5; Huet, "Monstrous Medicine," 131; and Davies, "The Unlucky, the Bad, and the Ugly," 54.
16. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 175, 180–189. Spinks makes a similar argument about changing interpretations of monstrous birth in Germany during the Reformation: see Spinks, *Monstrous Births*, 10, 59–80. And for a combination of the maternal imagination and divine signs interpretations of monstrous births see David Cressy "Lamentable, Strange, and Wonderful," 44–53.
17. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 180–181; Spinks, *Monstrous Births*, 3–5, 10.
18. Determining rates of maternal and infant mortality for the medieval and early modern periods is extremely challenging. For maternal mortality, methods used include archeological evidence of double burials for women with children, and of differentiated death rates between men and women at specific ages, along with archival studies of records of baptisms, churchings, and burials. Archeological data gives evidence of higher death rates for women of childbearing age: see Högberg et al. "Maternal Deaths in Medieval Sweden," and Sayer and Dickerson, "Reconsidering Obstetric Death and Female Fertility." Studies of archival records yield maternal mortality rates ranging from 9.3 to 26.8 per 1000 live births or baptisms in England during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. This is to be compared to a rate of 0.1 per 1000 live births in England in 1980. See Willmott Dobbie, "An Attempt to Estimate the True Rate of Maternal Mortality"; and Schofield, "Did the Mothers Really Die?" Infant mortality

is likewise studied by examining baptism and burial records, which yield results ranging from 92 to 256 deaths per 1000 live births for England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with considerable variation over time and space: see Wrigley, "Births and Baptisms;" and Galley and Shelton, "Bridging the Gap." This can be compared to a rate of 6.17 per 1000 live births in the United State in 2014.

19. On Anne see Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 59–109; Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 78–82, 94–119, 168–172, 216, 244–265; and L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood*, 235–241.
20. On Claude see Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 120–124.
21. These include special prayers for women in childbirth, images included in books of hours, and the mother's legacy as an early modern English literary genre: see L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood*, and Heller, *The Mother's Legacy*.
22. Larson, "Who is the Master of This Narrative."
23. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 729, fol. 262 verso.
24. Wellman, *Queens and* Mistresses, 3–4, 14, 77–79.
25. On patronage, its potential as a form of women's artistic agency, and the problems that potential presents, see Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen;" Caskey, "Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency;" Flora, "Patronage;" and essays in the collection *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*.
26. Musée du Louvre, *Sculpture Française*, 527. And on Valentine's tomb see also Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 385–388.
27. King, "My Image to be Made All Naked," 304–313.
28. King, "My Image to be Made All Naked," 309.
29. Etienne Baluze's problematic *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne* asserts that Jeanne was the patron of her tomb, that "elle y fit bastir," but does not provide any documentation of that fact. See Baluze, *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, vol. 1, 351.
30. On these tombs see Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 374–375.
31. On the exclusion of women from the throne see the work of Sarah Hanley, in particular; "The Monarchic State in Early Modern France;" "Identity Politics and Rulership in France: Female Political Place and the Fraudulent Salic Law in Christine de Pizan and Jean de Montreuil;" and "Mapping Rulership in the French Body Politic." For an opposing view, see Taylor, "The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages."
32. Angela Florschuetz makes a similar argument relating the portrayal of Melusina as a mother in the Middle English Melusine to a "crisis in male succession" in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century England. See Florschuetz, *Marking Maternity in Middle English Romance*, 155–185.

33. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 78–81; Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 133–181.
34. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 2–9, 120, 170–172, 179–180.
35. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 78–79; Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 179–180 footnote 146.
36. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, 105–106, 139.
37. Hanley, "Mapping Rulership in the French Body Politic," 133–134.
38. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies.*
39. Hanley, "The Monarchic State," 116–118; Hanley, "Mapping Rulership in the French Body Politic," 135–136, 140–141, 144–146.
40. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 136–137, 165–167.
41. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort*, 69–75; Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, 244.
42. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort*, 81–82; Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, 243, 246–247.
43. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, 312–313, 177, 226–227, 246–247.
44. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, 283.
45. On Catherine and Henry's tomb see Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 379–383.
46. Catherine had previously served as regent while Henry II was absent in Italy and Germany; on her regencies see Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 43, 72–97; and Crawford, "Catherine de Medici and the Performance of Political Motherhood," 651–653.
47. See Crawford, "Catherine de Medici and the Performance of Political Motherhood," 643–673; ffolliott, "Catherine de Medici as Artemesia;" Brooks, "Catherine de Medici, nouvelle Artémise;" Hoogvliet, "Princely Culture and Catherine de Medici;" and Crouzet, "A strong desire to be a mother to all of your subjects."
48. Quoted and discussed in Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France*, 161, 165, 174–176.
49. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 80; Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 135; Brooks, "Catherine de Medici, nouvelle Artémise," 427.
50. R.J. Knecht, *Catherine de Medici* (New York: Longman, 1998), 27.
51. Brooks, "Catherine de Medici, nouvelle Artémise," 427.
52. Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 234–235; Brooks, "Catherine de Medici, nouvelle Artémise," 419–423; and Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*, 212–213.
53. ffolliott, "Catherine de Medici as Artemesia," 235–236; Brooks, "Catherine de Medici, nouvelle Artémise," 423.
54. d'Ambra, "The Calculus of Venus," 221.
55. D'Ambra, "The Calculus of Venus," 219–223, 229–230.

56. Crouzet, *Le Haut Coeur de Catherine de Médicis*, 55–62, 157–175.
57. ffolliott, "Catherine de Medici as Artemesia," 232–241; Crouzet, *Le Haut Coeur de Catherine de Médicis*, 161.
58. Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 240; and in a slightly different translation, "to rule the state as a loving mother must" in Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*, 207–208; on Catherine's motherhood as justifying her role as regent see Crawford, "Catherine de Medici and the Performance of Political Motherhood," 647–650, 658.
59. Crouzet, *Le Haut Coeur de Catherine de Médicis*, 86.
60. Crouzet, "A strong desire to be a mother to all of your subjects," 113–114.
61. On motherhood as caretaking and nurturing activities see the essays in *Medieval Mothering*, and *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period*.
62. Crawford, "Catherine de Medici and the Performance of Political Motherhood," 647–650, 653–658.
63. Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 29–31; Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 231.
64. Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 34.
65. Brooks, "Catherine de Medici, nouvelle Artémise," 421–427.
66. Hanley, "Mapping Rulership in the French Body Politic," 135–137, 140–141, 144–150.
67. On the della Robbia transi see Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 383–4.

CHAPTER 8

Embodying Gluttony as Women's Wildness: Rembrandt's *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound*, c. 1629–1631

Michelle Moseley-Christian

Embodiment as a condition of "otherness" is an approach that has been successfully applied to a variety of visual contexts, especially concerning issues of identity and race for instance, in order to examine culturally prescribed aesthetic perceptions of bodily difference.[1] Differently figured bodies in early modern imagery continue to be the subject of scholarly enquiry, although renderings of fat bodies in regards to female flesh have been less frequently explored as a critical site of marginalization. While examinations of the fleshy body, described in contemporary field literature as "fatness studies" have made a notable impact on cultural and literary disciplines, comparatively fewer responses to this methodological approach have arisen within an early modern art historical framework. A lacuna exists in this arena despite a wealth of visual evidence that posits a complex place for the fat female body in pre-modern visual culture.

M. Moseley-Christian (✉)
Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, USA

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4_8

In the context of fatness studies, Peter Paul Rubens' robust nudes come to mind, providing examples of the large nude that found a positive audience in terms of early modern viewer reception.[2] Scholars have repeatedly encountered difficulties, however, in using Rubens' nudes as a standard bearer for a more comprehensive study of early modern fatness. The women in Rubens' paintings and prints have been reticent witnesses to current attitudes towards the fully fleshed female body, principally because it has been difficult for scholars to draw broad-based conclusions about wider cultural patterns based on the reliably recurring sort of nudes in Rubens' work. This is because Rubens' nudes seem to reflect his own aesthetic ideals for the feminine form, a type that does not necessarily define a more objectively widespread cultural preference.[3] An earlier illustration of a heavy female figure in Dürer's *Four Books on Human Proportion* (1532–1534) is often pointed out as evidence of cultural preference for larger bodies, or otherwise for cultural expectations regarding the inclusion of diversely-sized bodies in imagery of the period.[4] Indeed, the sheer range of physical forms of all types in northern European art suggests that body type of any kind is freighted with meaning in its own context. That is to say, size is not necessarily incidental, and can be a useful index for interrogating the image in terms of the visual embodiment of gender's multiplicities of meaning.

Perhaps a reluctance to examine the visual condition of early modern fatness derives from the inherent difficulty in recovering a definitive standard of early modern beauty, a fraught debate that surrounds, for example, the later reception of Rembrandt van Rijn's figures.[5] Our limited understanding of early modern viewer response suggests that such embodied ideals in northern visual culture were highly variable. To the modern eye, what is often erroneously read as a condition of "fatness" seems to earlier tastes to be an appealing aesthetic. Moreover, contemporary perceptions that continue to associate fleshy forms with often negative connotations have made the effort to untangle early modern sensibilities that much more difficult. This essay addresses the potential for the fleshy body in northern European prints as a powerful site for the expression of cultural meaning. In doing so, it wades into a conversation with full awareness that such images are layered with cultural complexities that have yet to be fully unraveled.

Nevertheless, there are certain depictions of the female nude that are distinguished from even the fleshy forms that characterize many early modern bodies. Rather than focus merely on bodies that are generous or robust, the present study explores the interpretive possibilities

Fig. 8.1 Rembrandt, *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound*, c. 1629–1631, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

of a selectively different body, Rembrandt's *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound*, c. 1629–1631 (Fig. 8.1). The body in this etching was discussed in critical discourse during the later seventeenth century as possessing a fatness that distinguished it in terms of appearance and meaning from many early modern female nudes. The so-called *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* is an early etching from the artist's oeuvre that depicts an

extraordinary female body, even amongst Rembrandt's variable female nudes.[6] *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* depicts an unclothed figure of copious girth. She sits on an elevated platform of earth in the open air of an indeterminate landscape-like location.[7] Despite the slippery nature of cultural values embodied by these images, representations such as Rembrandt's *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* raise worthwhile questions regarding how depictions of excessive flesh rely on cultural convention while introducing innovative meaning to these forms.

The present study locates Rembrandt's etching amongst other images that offer opportunities to probe how representations of fatness embodied a particular type of female "otherness" that was deliberately linked to a threatening, unrestrained sexuality. It seems that fatness was coded in certain gendered contexts as a signifier of a deeply situated, uncontrollable sexual nature. In other words, a body that might be described as Bakhtian in its grotesqueness becomes an embodiment of difference that seems to imply a related scope of negative culturally situated behaviors.[8] Most everything about this image—the unusually heavy, flabby form of the naked woman, the figure's strange position outdoors in an awkward posture, the aggressive eye contact with the viewer—has elicited puzzlement and sometimes harsh condemnation from viewers and critics during Rembrandt's own time down to the present day.[9] In 1671 Dutch poet Jan de Bisschop made reference to the figure as "fat" in cataloguing what he considered to be her many aesthetic shortcomings that reflected poorly on Rembrandt's creative choices.[10] Other critical commentary characterizes her body in ways that suggest its distinctive place amongst nudes of the day. While critical opprobrium for Rembrandt's nudes in general was not strikingly unusual (especially during his later career) there are a small group of female nudes, notably etchings that are singled out for their extraordinary bodies. Much of the critical language describing the figure can be unpacked to reveal underlying concerns with fatness as a subtle quality of female sexuality, arguing for an implicitly gendered relationship to bodily appetites. Additionally, delving into these images sheds light on some of the late medieval visual sources that suggest strong antecedents for Rembrandt's own construction of the gluttonous female body.

The relationship between eating, desire and fleshiness has a long and complicated cultural history that was notably concerned with women as insatiable, both sexually and in terms of a hunger for food. In early modern discourse, fatness could certainly represent the unchecked

consumption of food, however, the imprint of these actions drew from a network of belief about appetites that encompassed a variety of physical yearnings. Casting the female body as sexualized and gluttonous was a practice rooted in a system of ancient and medieval attitudes towards eating and fasting that correlated excess food consumption or self-denial of food with the control (or lack of control) over sexual drives, especially those of women. By way of their insatiable appetites, meaning an intake of too much food that inflamed sexual desire, certain kinds of fat bodies (although not all) were implicated in a cultural indictment as disorderly bodies. The hungry female body, whether for food, drink, or sexual satisfaction, acted as an embodiment of difference, or "otherness," because such a body operated outside the boundaries of institutional controls that advocated for the control, or suppression, of bodily appetites.

The naked woman's large stomach forges iconographic connections to longstanding conceptions of appetites of the flesh, both gustatory and sexual. Locating the figure in cultural contexts of gluttony can illuminate some of the more unusual creative choices in the image. The iconography of the heavy female figure with a large belly also connects to broader tropes of sexual and physical hunger that are found in a number of allegorical figures. Form and iconography in context exemplify a suite of bad behaviors that coalesce around the multivalent meanings of gluttony. Taken together, these visual forms suggest a well-established model for depictions of some transgressive women as large-bodied.[11]

The *Naked Woman* and Women's Appetites

The *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* provides a point of entry for the way that women's appetites were visualized, and in doing so it reflects longstanding cultural ideologies about the nature of women. A close reading of this c. 1629–1631 etching suggests that the naked woman's striking girth is a feature that intentionally underscored her sexual appetites by way of familiar iconographic tropes, borrowing from visual topoi such as depictions of gluttony and other figures that also characterized out of control impulses, including the legendry wild woman which was a popular figure in early northern European prints.[12] As it gestures to these images and cultural ideologies, the naked woman (as I shall hereafter refer to the image) engages with established notions about the broader problem of women's "wildness." Wildness is a state that can be circumscribed by a resistance to institutional control. For early modern

women the condition of wildness was partly rooted in an undisciplined body that resisted rational self-restraint and instead helplessly gravitated to pleasurable sensation.

While the naked woman links to an idiosyncratic visualization of women's wildness as it was manifested through the body, we can find plentiful references to cultural concerns with a gendered idea of wildness in a variety of medieval and early modern texts. Early church fathers, exegetes and commentators, as well as sources such as conduct books for women spell out with clarity how women were prone to indulge their physical desires, and also how and why they should actively suppress the yearnings of the flesh in all its forms. Many of these sources take special care to relate women's uncontrollable desires to their physical appetites, a belief that developed a cultural understanding of the body in spiritual contexts that held gustatory and sexual impulses to be two facets of the same basic urge.

In reviewing the naked woman's body as a surface on which to inscribe gendered ideals, her corpulence stands out as a critical feature. The flabbiness of her fleshy body is heightened by an unsparing review of surface detail: a distended belly reveals the lashings of corset lacings, and her stocky calves bear traces of garter marks. Although many northern nudes describe generous female bodies, the exaggerated proportions of the naked woman's belly, and her bulging and hanging flesh are in many ways distinct from Rembrandt's other nudes such as his early paintings dated about the same time, for example *Andromeda Chained to the Rocks*, 1631 (Mauritshuis Royal Cabinet of Paintings, The Hague).[13] The Andromeda painting is approximately contemporary with the naked woman, and demonstrates the variety and idiosyncrasy of Rembrandt's female nudes. Both figures possess a disproportionate, lumpy form to varying degrees but are noteworthy as comparative images because they depart in tandem from an idealized classicism in ways that have stimulated scholarly discussion concerning Rembrandt's work. These aspects of the artist's female nudes over the centuries have been regarded as too harsh in their so-called "realism."[14] As well, Rembrandt's choice of such a fleshy form has been interpreted as eschewing classical ideals of beauty to deliberately flout artistic convention.[15]

As others have observed, however, there is no indication that the naked woman was intended as an anticlassical statement. Indeed, at least during Rembrandt's lifetime, the print was apparently a popular image.[16] The naked woman was printed in two states, and Erik Hinterding

notes that impressions were pulled from the second state until about 1648, allowing it a notable period of commercial currency through Rembrandt's mid-career.[17] The appeal of the image to a seventeenth-century audience is suggested by its contemporary appropriations; it was one of only two images by Rembrandt to have been copied by the discriminating Bohemian printmaker Wenceslas Hollar on his trip to the Low Countries in 1635.[18] The form of the naked woman was also adapted in at least three different Dutch paintings through mid-century. The figure appears in *Bathsheba at Her Toilette* (no date) formerly attributed to G.J. Sybilla (Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit); a scene of women bathing titled *Diana and Her Nymphs*, by Adriaen van Nieulandt 1641 (Braunschweig, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum); and Jan Lievens' *Mars and Venus*, 1653 (Berlin, Jagdschloss Grunewald).[19] Copies of the naked woman that testify to its continued public presence suggest that the figure had a solid foothold in popular tastes.

As an erotically charged figure, the naked woman employs a strategy of embodiment that is usefully compared with Rembrandt's etching of *Diana* dated to about the same time (c. 1631). Diana presents a figure that also possesses a large and loosely fleshed form. Because of the unidealized bodies in these two prints, the naked woman is sometimes discussed as a pendant to *Diana* (possibly as Diana's nymph or attendant).[20] Diana, as the eternal virgin, is desirable but chaste. In Rembrandt's version she reclines on a riverbank, indicating that the narrative likely refers to a moment from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* when Actaeon surprises Diana at her bath. While the viewer stands in for Actaeon's admiring gaze, Diana takes the form of a heavily fleshed figure who is invested with a great deal of sexual appeal when read in her proper narrative context.

Despite similar approaches to the fleshed body in contexts of women's sexual appeal between the two prints, the naked woman is just as often interpretively discussed by itself, likely because there are significant differences in iconographic character and narrative clarity between the two images. While Diana's location at the riverside bath and her attribute of quiver and arrows make her a familiar subject, the naked woman, in contrast, has so little iconography that she does not readily conform to themes for other outdoor nudes such as Diana, Venus, or Bathsheba.[21] The mood and level of engagement in the two images diverge as the naked woman departs from Diana's self-conscious display of modesty. The goddess shields her body from the viewer in a protective pose that

is unlike the naked woman's unobstructed, even welcoming, display of her unclothed form. The Naked woman, therefore, seems to strain at the boundaries of conventional presentations for the sexualized nude, even within a framework of the artist's other large-bodied figures. In this way, the naked woman stands apart even from Diana, and instead draws from established imagery that links the sexual desire of women directly to the insatiable nature of women through her hugely exaggerated belly as well as her particular pose and compositional arrangement. These iconographic and compositional elements evoke parallels between different varieties of hunger that plague the frail human body, the cravings of which women were considered especially susceptible.

Because the naked woman's body presents such a complex type of nude in an ambiguous context, most interpretive studies of the image begin with what is considered most problematic about this body. The body's strangeness, for example, is compounded by an awkward pose and disproportionately shaped limbs.[22] Considered in terms of its generally harsh contemporary reception, a conflicting picture emerges about the image from the later seventeenth century. The earliest surviving criticisms from 1671 and 1681 were written at a moment when classicism was becoming an ever more favored style in elite circles. Jan de Bisschop, Andres Pels, and other academically inclined critics clearly did not find the image appealing within a classicized aesthetic. De Bisschop disapproved of her "fat, swollen stomach, pendulous breasts…and many more such deformities."[23] Pel's oft-quoted poem described the figure as "no Greek Venus" who instead seemed to be a "washer woman or peat stomper from a barn," with "sagging breasts [and] malformed hands."[24] De Bisschop and Pels take note of the figure's bulging stomach, a key element that was an established part of subtle visual discourse that linked female sexual appetites to fatness. Iconography of the belly particularly resonates in early modern renderings of *gula*, or personifications of gluttony.[25] The naked woman's unclothed body and direct approach to the viewer in the contexts of fatness that emphasize her extended belly, play into longstanding tropes that related women's gluttony to a fiery sexual nature.

Consistent precedents for bulging abdomens and heavy, fleshy bodies of expansive proportions can be found in female personifications of gluttony that were also pictured in prints like that of Dutch printmaker Jacob Matham's 1593 engraving *Gulzigheid* (Gula) after a design by Hendrick Goltzius (Fig. 8.2). Matham's depiction of Gula includes the typical features of the figure, with a naturalistically fleshy body that is crowned by

Fig. 8.2 Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Gulzigheid*, 1593, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

an exaggerated abdomen extending outward, and hanging slack at its base. Gula typically holds a tazza or jug of wine, food, or both, as she gorges herself. Not only does the naked woman display a kind of fatness that is familiar to typical representations of Gula, but the figure's belly is predicated on a similarly exaggerated scale.

As a measure of the ubiquity of this figure, Gula as a full-bellied figure also appeared on common material objects such as inexpensively decorated household vessels that were sold as export wares. Some decorated majolica fragments from c. 1570, for example, picture just such an image of Gula, seated on a mound in an outdoor location (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig). The fragment pictures Gula gorging herself, here with the long neck that symbolizes her extended pleasure in eating. Certain features of this image, namely the large belly, the sidelong position, and the outdoor placement on a rocky butte are linked elements as representations of female appetite in ways that precede Rembrandt's naked woman in general form and meaning. The majolica source ultimately suggests that this might have been a common way that Gula was embodied.

The visual tradition surrounding these themes positioned gluttony as signifier for a layered range of appetites that were conflated with the desires of women, who possessed an inherently "wild" nature. Food and drink were culturally perceived as well-known catalysts that stoked desire, a condition that was conventionally associated with a gluttonous belly as an outward manifestation of fleshly indulgences. The twelfth century scholastic Peter Lombard, for one, mused that "woman is proved to have sinned more also from the [first] punishment" a pervasive theological position that related appetites to Eve's weakness, characterized by Augustine of Hippo as her natural state of "lower reason."[26] These inheritances thus forged a picture of women as inconstant, prone to sensuality, and an absence of restraint.

Eve's inability to resist the temptation of eating the forbidden fruit was regarded as the first example of gluttony, and gluttony itself was considered by some to be the first, and deadliest, sin.[27] Basil of Caesarea declared in the fourth century: "Because Eve did not fast then, it is now necessary for us to fast as a kind of repentance or satisfaction to God."[28] The reputation of women as natural gluttons became so pervasive that Christine de Pizan was compelled to oppose this view, arguing that it constituted a deliberate misrepresentation of the female gender.[29] In *The Book of the City of Ladies* c. 1405, she proposes that rather than guilty of a gluttonous nature, instead women are

> […] inherently sober creatures and that those who aren't go against their own nature. There is no worse vice in women than gluttony, because whoever is gluttonous is susceptible to all other kinds of vices too. Instead, it's well known that women flock to churches in great numbers to listen to sermons, to make their confessions and to say their daily prayers.[30]

For these reasons, common textual and iconographic representations of gluttony held fast to gendered conventions in the ways that the sin was visualized. As one of the seven deadly sins, Gula is often thought of by way of representations that figure the vice as male, such as Hieronymous Bosch's *Gula*, 1475 that pictures a burly peasant heedlessly devouring food at a table (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid). Gluttony could be allegorized as male, but in fact, in the visual arts and literature the personification was overwhelmingly gendered female and thus loaded with cultural associations that lent a carnal dimension to women's relationship to food and the act of consuming it.[31]

There are a host of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century image that picture gluttony as an allegorical figure with iconography that isolates this type of body as not just a result of the overindulgence of food, but of women's voracious sexual needs. Crispijn de Passe the Elder's c. 1590 (London, British Museum) engraving depicts the figure of Gula in a way that didactically merges libido and hunger as facets of appetite: a rotund woman with a large stomach stands in the foreground of the image with her attribute of a hog (referring to indiscriminate eating). Gula gorges herself on a cooked fowl and wine.[32] The lower portion of the print that flanks the central figure of Gula displays a scene of sexual excess represented by Lot seduced by his daughters (left) and a banqueting scene (right). When pictured as a woman, most artists frame Gula's sins as carnal. Food is often present, and when it is, it provides iconographic cues purposefully coded to evoke eating as a surrogate action for sex.[33]

Although gluttony has come to mean unmoderated eating, it originated as a frame for the dual sins of consumption and lechery.[34] The close connection between food and sex was a relationship predicated on an understanding of anatomy from antiquity that believed the belly to be attached to the sexual organs. The relationship between belly and genitals was believed to be the source of all gluttony, meaning that this

impulse was rooted in sexual drives as much as in food, and that the two desires were often indistinguishable. This complex view of gluttony became a central theme in the writings of many church fathers, widely promoted by Paul, and was adopted by theologians and later thinkers as the standard mode of discourse used to discuss this sin.

Following this model, Tertullian admonished Christians in his treatise *On Fasting* to beware of these twin gateways to corporeal desires, as did Abelard who warned "gluttony is by the throat, lust by the genitals."[35] The much-copied fourteenth-century preacher's handbook *Fasciculum Morum* declared, "In spiritual terms, this beast [Rev. 13] is fleshly concupiscence which rises from the earth of our flesh and has two horns, namely gluttony and lust, which do not look very terrifying and yet are quite deceptive."[36] The Pauline epistles, among other examples, equate the drives of the belly with the genitals.[37] Following that lead, early church fathers conflated the locus of gluttony to this region. Associations between belly and genitalia were so pervasive that the belly was often used in theological shorthand as a way to refer to sex organs and their consequent demands.[38] John Chrysostom's sermons and warnings about overindulgence plainly equalized food and sexuality in bodily processes, claiming that one inflamed the other, and therefore stood as ever-present temptations that required constant vigilance.

> These sicknesses which utterly destroy the good health of the body and the prudence of the soul are wicked streams that emanate from the most wicked fountain of wantoness and gluttony. Therefore let us not be afraid of fasting, who delivers us from so many evils. And I do not give you this advice without cause. I see many men as if they are about to surrender themselves to a wild woman; to this degree they hesitate and withdraw and today they destroy themselves in drunkenness and gluttony. For this reason I advise, so you will not preempt with gluttony and drunkenness the inner benefit to derived from fasting.[39]

Chrysostom deliberately cites the precarious moral position of males who put themselves in temptation's way via food, drink, and sex. Because food could inflame desire, many theologians regarded fasting as an effective cure for libidinousness. Thus, controlling food became a chief way to extend control over other fleshly desires.[40] John Cassian's *Conferences* from the fifth century and written for monastic orders, declared that

gluttony comes from "the instigation of an itching of the flesh," needing "eternal matter in order to be consummated."[41] There seems to have been widespread agreement in describing hunger and eating as powerful corporeal yearnings that were comparable to sexual desire. As one of the most influential of these early sources, Augustine likewise claimed outright that the genitals' natural "rebelliousness" was incited by gluttony.[42]

Discussions on the subject of sex and food from antiquity and the middle ages are legion, but discourse on food and appetites notably targeted women as enmeshed in these interlocking vices. Food inflamed desire, but by the same token, the ability to exert control over food could lead to the mastery of other bodily urges. St. Jerome admonished women and girls to fast up to the margins of starvation as a sure way to dampen their natural sexual tendencies.[43] It was impossible, he maintained, for a woman to preserve chastity when "her body is all on fire with rich food."[44] For this reason, when Gula is depicted as a woman, most artists frame this sin in carnal terms. Food is often present in images of Gula and when it is, comestibles provide iconographic cues that are purposefully coded to evoke eating as a surrogate action for sex.[45] In images, cooked birds are a particular dish that Gula often ingests. Jacob Matham's allegorical figure of Gula features the large-bodied woman engaging in just such a pleasurable action. In the print, the substantial figure stands with stomach bulging, and holds aloft a dish decorated with a game bird (Fig. 8.2). Cooked poultry was generally regarded as an iconographic indicator of women's sexual (and sometimes, by extension, financial) greed, lending these meanings to Gula devouring the symbolic bird as a representation of her voracious nature.[46]

Often based on these biblical and theological precedents, early conduct books constructed new outlets for modeling appropriate female behavior that frequently gave voice to cultural concerns regarding women's tendencies to easily give themselves over to material indulgences. Gluttony and its relationship to an unrestrained sexuality finds a prominent place in one of the earliest such guides, written under the auspices of an older man giving advice to his very young bride, a book now known as *Le Ménagier de Paris* (c. 1394). The text provides a useful source on expectations for the behavior of women from the late middle ages, initially as a French text but later widely copied and translated. It even seems to have provided an early model for the genre of medieval conduct books as instruction manuals for women.[47]

In the text of *Le Ménagier de Paris*, we find much that echoes the long history of belief in how gluttony is sparked and manifested in the body. A gluttonous nature is not only centered around an immoderate intake of food but it also extends to include eating at the wrong time of day, or eating more times a day than deemed appropriate, as well as eating food that was unusually rich.[48] In regards to the correct number of mealtimes, *Le Ménagier's* unnamed author-narrator reminds his wife of the scriptural tenet that likens gluttons to animals: "Eating once a day is angelic, twice a day is human, and three, 4, or more times a day is bestial and not human."[49] The necessity of strict control over a woman's every interaction with food is made clear. In part, the patriarchal focus on food in conduct books and exegesis likely stems from women's role as domestic caretakers, a position that relegated food management to a routine facet of household duties. Women's relative proximity to food was seen as an ever-present temptation that male household authority could not completely oversee. In this sense, *Le Ménagier de Paris* does not ignore the relationship between gluttony, food, and sex. Some of the advice closely follows the widespread belief that the full belly inflames desire:

> Then comes the sin of lust, born of gluttony. For when the wicked man has eaten and drunk well past satiety, the limbs adjacent to the belly heat up and provoke him to this sin. Immoderate thoughts and evil reflections proceed from this point, and then from the thought one moves to the deed.[50]

In addition to equating an immoderate appetite with animalism, in his advice to his wife the author-narrator gives gluttony an even more expansive definition that encompasses like instances of careless management of the body, including talking roughly, idly, or too much.[51] Therefore, if a woman is prone to eating and drinking inappropriately, all manner of brutish behaviors will take root.

Nakedness and Wildness: Fat or Fashion?

Gluttony provided a rich staging area that was used to plumb a deep cultural well of meanings encompassed by perceptions of female bodily hunger. It was, for instance, the underlying premise for numerous themes of sexual depravity in the visual arts such as Samson and Delilah,

Lot and His Daughters, and other similar "Power of Women" topoi that characterized women as insatiable and dangerous.[52] Among these the bodies of Gula, and likewise, Rembrandt's naked woman are inflected by ingrained theological associations between consumption and sexuality, one based since ancient and early Christian times on the proximity of the belly to the sexual organs.[53]

The direct eye contact of the naked woman is an attendant feature of her sexuality that has been described as utterly "novel" for nudes of the day (even Titian's *Venus of Urbino* has a modestly unfocused gaze).[54] Eric Jan Sluijter has perceptively suggested that, despite critical reaction to the unidealized female form in the naked woman, the truly alarming and even "disturbing," quality of the image is grounded, rather, in the singularly aggressive expression of female sexuality through her eye contact, unclothed state, and invitational, open posture.[55] To that, I would add that viewed through a lens of bodily difference common to cultural mores of the period, her fatness as suggestive of fleshly appetites serves to heighten perceptions of the naked woman's sexual availability. Thus, the naked woman's sexual aggression, the naked display of her flesh and the implications of her fleshly appetites makes her an intimidating figure that calls up key elements associated with these qualities, articulated in traditional prints of Gula as the theme emblematized female rapaciousness.

The wide lower body of the naked woman is regarded by some scholars as a type of figure that would not be considered fat, rather, her shape mimics the appearance of fashionable garments of the day. According to Anne Hollander, the protruding belly presents the effect of a stomacher, which built an apron-like form into a woman's garment that extended several inches away from the front of her body. In this context, it has been argued that the naked woman represents the same ideal type of body that was achieved by the structure of popular clothing of the day.[56] Regarding the influence of contemporary seventeenth-century garments, Marieke de Winkel notes that by the 1630s the extended stomach was a look that was associated with married, older women of the middle class.[57] Thus, the stomacher was a way to identify a specific social stratum of Dutch society of the sort visible in myriad portraits such as Frans Hals' *Portrait of Aletta Hanemans*, 1625 (Mauritshuis Royal Cabinet of Paintings, The Hague) that pictures the sitter wearing a protuberant stomacher typical for *burgerlijk* women of the period. Because the distinctive silhouette of a stomacher communicated important social,

gendered, and economic information about its wearer, it seems that the essential meaning of a shape that was achieved by clothing would be complicated by a nude body that was entirely absent of clothes. In other words, applying the strictures, social cues, and meanings of clothes to a body that does not have them predicates the meaning of the image based on something that is not evident.

Although generously structured bodily shapes may invoke the aesthetics, restrictions, and hierarchies that attended fashion, the unclothed state of the naked woman seems to imply instead a certain freedom from social conventions represented by clothing. That the naked woman's clothes remain conspicuously visible in the image but are unworn underscores this cultural separation. The figure sits on a discarded chemise that billows up slightly behind her to the viewer's right. It is often argued that a primary function of clothing is to act as an essential symbol of civilization, and by discarding her garment the naked woman has distanced herself from that realm. Her existence outside institutional boundaries is enhanced by her nakedness, a state that Jill Burke and others have studied as a common early modern signifier of savagery, or wildness; a state that was associated with rampant libidinousness in part because of widespread belief that savage peoples and animals were by nature incapable of reason. Without reason, individuals lacked a necessary mechanism of restraint over the body's urges.[58] Chrysostom links excessive drinking and eating in gluttony to the behavior of "a wild beast rather than a human being…for those creatures have not a reasonable soul."[59]

Curious images of naked women who have discarded their clothes and occupy nature without a clearly attendant narrative were the subject of a number of earlier print examples. A unique surviving impression of a c. 1475–1500 engraving (attributed to Israhel van Meckenem) that is given a modern descriptive title of *Naked Woman with Roses* depicts just such a scene (Fig. 8.3). In the small engraving, a woman stands before a raised, grassy bank and, just as the naked woman does, she has removed her clothes. In this printed example, the woman's clothes lie on the ground at her feet as a small lap dog frolics nearby.[60] Also similar to the naked woman, *Naked Woman with Roses* has no background setting or narrative context to clarify the woman's strange actions. Evidence of the recent removal of her clothes suggests that the woman has reverted to some natural state, perhaps gesturing to the collective understanding that a sensual nature was inherent to women.[61]

Fig. 8.3 Attributed to Israhel van Meckenem, *Naked Woman with Roses*, c. 1475–1500, Albertina, Vienna

Foundational conduct books including *Le Ménagier de Paris* make explicit comparisons between the carefully dressed woman as an exemplar of the "disciplined" (chaste) body, both seen as evidence of a well-managed, respectable household.[62] In these texts a woman found outside the protection of the household used proper, modest clothes as a reminder of her social and moral respectability, described as if women symbolically carried the household with them. In this way, sexualized nakedness rather than nudity (which is sensual but refined and cultured) is a feature that participates in fatness as a pictorial strategy of wildness.[63] That the naked woman abandons her clothes to reveal her fleshy body is an action that underscores her uncontrolled sexuality. The revealed body itself, with prominent belly and flesh cue a relationship to appetites that encompass a variety of physical pleasures. In both prints, the two naked women seem to cast off institutional mores and social expectations along with the removal of their clothes.

Embodying the Wildness of Women in the Northern Print Tradition

While the naked woman's natural setting in the open air lends meaning to unclothed female figures that occupy the outdoors, this visual context also structures the figure's pose. The naked woman sits on a rise of earth, a pose that puts an emphasis on her abdomen, and requires her torso to turn toward the viewer while her legs are in a sidelong position. She steadies herself on one extended arm, and the other arm is foreshortened at an angle that heightens the awkward air of her proportions. Discussion of the naked woman's pose tends to follow the two modes of interpretation: as either an exercise in unadorned naturalism that is seen by some as having an "anti-classical" meaning, or conversely, interpretations that find the pose and arrangement (but not the body) an echo of classicized models from the Italian Renaissance. Some scholars propose that the odd pose approximates the way a model in the studio might appear, and it has been discussed in this light as part of Rembrandt's early practice with nude models.[64] While the narrative of the naked woman is elusive, a studio-oriented context seems difficult to reconcile with the outdoor setting.

Following Eric Jan Sluijter's suggestion, the observed body placed in nature may comment on this unvarnished nude as an honest portrayal "from life" ("naar het leven").[65] Most studies have associated the naked woman's pose with a variety of engravings, notably two images of Bathsheba after Raphael, as well as Annibale Carracci's *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1590–1595 (Vienna, Albertina).[66] The figures in these Italian examples, however, are in poses that create a different pictorial mood altogether from the naked woman's image. Like the aforementioned *Diana*, Raphael's and Annibale's figures display a distinct sense of modesty. They turn away from the viewer's gaze in a way that is unlike the naked woman's welcoming display. Neither do the figures in these earlier prints exude the same potent aura of libidinousness as the naked woman. Additionally, the naked woman boldly returns the viewer's gaze. In contrast to these models, there are visual precedents for the naked woman in prints of the wild woman and Gula, the personification of gluttony that picture a sexually charged, large-bellied nude figure seated outdoors on an earthen mound, sometimes challenging the viewer with a direct gaze. The overlapping reputations of these female figures for excess in eating and carnal drives make them two common representations of base impulses and appetites.

Early Christian exegetes, and later St. Augustine, incorporated concerns about humanity's bestial nature into their own exegeses on sin, and in doing so, they grafted strongly allegorical and moral dimensions onto forms that represented the idea of wildness. These meditations set the tone for depictions of this phenomenon within larger cultural discourse; medieval moral characterizations of wildness shifted essential perceptions of uncontrolled behavior from that of barbarianism as a broad threat to civilization as a whole from outside, to instead focus on the potential for moral erosion within each individual.[67] While the naked woman relies on established iconography associated with Gula to implicate desire in the form of excessive appetites, such culturally rooted conventions had much in common with pervasive early modern depictions of the legendary figures known as "wild" women and "wild" men. Some idiosyncratic features of the naked woman, both in terms of form and meaning, are also grounded in the "wild topos," a visible and popular trope in the medieval and early modern visual and literary arts. The wild topos showcased legendary wild men and women who provided a superior example of "wildness": they were purely irrational animals in terms of their behavior, yet they had a human-like form. As a mark of their animal natures,

however, the bodies of wild men and women were covered in hair (sometimes in leaves, or even nude). Further, they rejected organized society and domestic settlements, preferring instead to lead a nomadic existence.[68] As the very antithesis of law, wild folk lurked in wilderness and forests where they were known to attack helpless human victims.

Although they were known for their brute strength and bursts of violence, wild folk were principally feared for their unquenchable appetites—they were driven to satiate physical urges that they made no effort to suppress. These impulses took shape in their reputation for their always hungry bellies and relentless promiscuity.[69] Wild folk were indeed characterized as gluttons precisely because they gave full rein to their desires; this is the very quality that made them "wild."[70] Thus "wildness" circumscribed a narrow range of destructive actions that were directly related to an absence of self-control—an ancient concern that was routinely expressed over the centuries through depictions of animalism. The wild man and woman became one of the last and most long-lived of these fearful manifestations. Weaknesses in human behavior were actualized in the wild topos' depictions of brutish excess, lust, and violence. Concerns over "wildness" shaped a great deal of theological thought about humanity's bestial nature that was inherited from original sin, and it also contributed to a general misogynistic approach regarding the nature of women.[71] The body of the naked woman gestures to these layered meanings of wildness as a way to complicate traditional subjects that depicted the powerful nature of some human desires.

Along with depictions of Gula, the naked woman shows a relationship to earlier images of female "wildness" through close similarities to certain prints of the wild woman. Known for voracious sexual drives, and a desire for human men, the wild woman exemplifies the unrestrained sexual appetites that are hinted at by the naked woman's direct gaze and her embodiment of a libidinous gluttony. Many of the medieval romances that are early literary sources for this topos focus on the wild woman attacking knights in the forest in order to satisfy her lusts, for example, the hairy wild woman Rauhe Else in the thirteenth-century Germanic epic *Wolfdietrich* is standard of this type.[72] The hairy creature ambushes the hero in the forest, only to demand that he satisfy her desires.[73] This trope is echoed with some variation in many chivalric epics. Prints of the wild woman, therefore, provided a visual context for female wildness and in this way they made appealing precedents for images that explore sexuality as an engine of appetite.

A number of early prints from the fifteenth century in the form of engraved playing cards picture a hairy but unclothed wild woman figure seated on a rocky butte in open nature. This arrangement appears with some iconographic variations in a number of playing card prints picturing the wild woman, a medium that indicates the subject had a notable degree of popularity and was likely distributed widely.[74] Of all the playing cards featuring the seated wild woman motif, the *Queen of Wild Men*, c. 1440–1450 by the unidentified Rhenish printmaker known as Master of the Playing Cards shares a raft of striking details with Rembrandt's naked woman (Fig. 8.4).

The level of detail in certain passages between the wild queen and the naked woman suggests that this card or a very close copy of these female figures served as a significant point of reference for Rembrandt's etching of the *Naked Woman*.[75] Rembrandt's use of earlier prints in adapting figures and compositions is well known, and at this early stage in his career he must have been keenly interested in situating himself within the scope of the greatest of the nascent printmakers as well as masters such as Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, and Raphael.[76] His impressive collection of prints inventoried at the time of his 1656 bankruptcy listed thirty-four volumes by "the principal masters of the entire world."[77] Such prints provided a creative challenge and allowed competitive response, giving Rembrandt the opportunity to display his knowledge of the medium and his virtuoso technical skill. Rembrandt's naked woman is not a direct copy of the Queen of the Wild Men, for the engorged stomach of the naked woman is a critical departure in emphasizing the contemporary nature of gendered appetite, but the later artist likely took the wild woman as a point of conceptual and formalist departure. A close reading of the naked woman alongside the wild queen suggests that the evocative nature of the wild woman as a terrifying exemplar of the capacity for destructive physical appetites that lay within all women played a role in informing the setting, placement, and general physicality of the naked woman.

In constructing the naked woman's form, Rembrandt made the effort to etch the plate for his print in reverse so that her position mirrors that of the wild queen. This establishes the layout of the composition in the same direction as its prototype. Hints of vegetation in the background and the mound of earth indicate that the naked woman is located outdoors, altogether creating a minimal setting that was characteristic of these playing cards. Like *Queen of Wild Men*, the naked woman inhabits

Fig. 8.4 Master of the Playing Cards, *Queen of Wild Men*, c. 1440–1450, Albertina, Vienna

the extreme foreground, replicating the same open, undefined background space seen in the playing card. Within this compressed space, the naked woman and the wild queen both sit in similar positions at the edge of their respective rocky platforms. While structural similarities account for holistic similarities between the two prints, a number of subtle reverberations between the figures further argue for the use of the wild queen as an influence for Rembrandt's naked woman. Each image is centrally structured, and features a figure sitting on a mound that rises slightly behind the body to frame and draw attention to the lower body. As part of late medieval conventions that emphasize pictorial flatness, Master of the Playing Cards presents a slightly elevated, bird's-eye view of the top of the earthen platform. Despite depicting the naked woman frontally rather than from above, Rembrandt maintains this unusual aerial perspective by allowing the top of the mound to remain entirely visible.

More finely tuned aspects of physical arrangement also seem to follow, for example, the naked woman subtly inclines her head, with chin pointed downward and tucked under, and turned slightly to the viewer's left in the same position as does the wild queen. The wild queen's upright posture gives the viewer unobstructed visual access to her body while she makes direct eye contact with the viewer—a display that conveys the primal sexual nature of her wildness and, when transferred to the naked woman, provides the point of visceral impact for Rembrandt's print. It is this direct eye contact that offers one key to the exceptional nature of the *Naked Woman* as a critical feature that contributes to the aggressive sexual nature of the figure.[78] If we look to the wild woman's engagement with the viewer as well, her direct gaze conveys her reputation for uncontrollable sexual appetites, possibly in reference to her much-feared practice of enchanting and ensnaring human men.[79] The slight smile offered by Rembrandt's naked woman and the likewise bold eye contact leaves little doubt that enticement is also her aim. Like the naked woman's location, pose, and glance, other features such as her waving, flowing "wild" hair that surrounds her body also strike close parallels to the earlier engravings of the wild woman.

Combined with their open display, the bodies of the naked woman and the wild queen have a similar sidelong arrangement, sitting with the upper torso angled to face the viewer. The naked woman has a defined torsion at her upper midsection made noticeable by folds of flesh directly above her swelling abdomen. The wild woman makes

this same movement more subtly; her upper body turns gently to the viewer's right, as indicated by the position of the bared right breast. Such a position served to give the most prominent view of the naked woman's stomach, a feature memorably condemned by Kenneth Clark's twentieth-century eye as "[so] huge and shapeless…[that] we can hardly bring our eyes to dwell on her."[80] The Wild Queen's bulging lower abdomen yet stands in contrast to the naked woman's crescendo of flesh as one demonstration of Rembrandt's emphasis on appetite as a key feature of the print. As the wild queen's left arm is positioned downward, it bisects her belly. Further, the position of the arm visually connects the wild woman's genitalia and her bulging belly in a gesture that evokes the long held cultural and theological traditions that saw these parts of the body as unified.

The literal subject of the print known as *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* remains elusive—is she a goddess, a model, a prostitute, a peasant? There are clear iconographic and thematic traditions that gesture to a connecting web between the unusual figure and related exemplars of fleshly impulse: Gula with compositional influence from a depiction of the wild woman. Following these, certain medieval tropes are implicated in the remarkable way in which the naked woman was constructed. Some of the most puzzling aspects of the naked woman's form, her fatness in large part circumscribed by her prominent abdomen align with established descriptions and depictions of female figures of boundless appetite. The naked woman is complicated by the cultural relationship women have had to food and lust, as constructed by church leaders who saw eating as one more manifestation of women's bottomless urges. Within its larger context, Rembrandt's well-known interest in earlier engravings indicates that he was aware of a wide range of images in this regard, bringing earlier prints that now have somewhat obscure origins into sharper focus as exemplars of masterful burin work that would have been appreciated by early modern connoisseurs of the art. His well-documented concerns with locating himself amongst the great graphic printmakers resulted in the artist's frequent adaptation of motifs and forms from established printmakers. A close reading of The naked woman places it within a visual tradition that presents an innovative way of couching an established theme in early modern print culture.

Notes

1. With thanks to Marcie Muscat for her critical reading of earlier drafts of this essay, and for her editorial comments. Additional thanks to Elissa Auerbach and Tera Hedrick for also reading earlier drafts of this content. Levy-Navarro, 35–44; Thompson, 481–505; Stukator, 197–213.
2. For example, a letter from the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand to the Spanish king Philip IV in 1639 remarks on the beauty of the figures, and their similarity to Rubens' wife: "La Venus que esta de en medio es retrato muy parecido de su misma muger que sin duda es lo major de lo que ahora hay aquí." The letter is reprinted in its entirety in Rooses, 228–229.
3. Rubens' second wife, Hélène Fourment has been the subject of speculation regarding the similarity of women in a number of Rubens' paintings, for example, as St. Cecilia in Rubens' *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals*, 1639–1640 (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie). Lindley, 13–20; Grummond, 27–28.
4. Dürer, 89. Strauss and van der Meulen 369; Golahny, 88–91.
5. Houbraken, chapter I and VII; Criticism is also summarized in Schott, 42–44; Sluijter, Rembrandt and the Female Nude, 15–22.
6. See in general, Sluijter, Rembrandt and the Female Nude, and Schott.
7. For a selection of catalogues that describe *Naked Woman Seated on Mound*, see White, 193–196; For the prints discussed in terms of physical scale see Hinterding, v. 1, 70 Williams, ed., 47–48; Kok, 118, cat. no. B198; Ackley et al. 287.
8. Bakhtin, 303–367; Spellman, 45–48; Stukator, 197–213.
9. For contemporary seventeenth-century commentary on Rembrandt's style in general, see Houbraken, v. 1, 1718–1721, reprint from 1753 edition, 267–269 and nineteenth-century commentary in Lenormant, 1373, quoted in McQueen, 87–88; For discussion of Rembrandt's unvarnished naturalism in *The Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* as a reflection of his use of models, see Pels' poem referenced above and Alpers, 155–156; Manuth, 47; Blankert notes that models were often recognized in paintings, but claims that was a dishonorable association because models were often prostitutes. Several primary sources referring to artists using prostitutes as models are cited. Blankert, 18.
10. de Bisschop, 1671.
11. There have been several literary studies that recognize the relationship between women and gluttony, but this has not been examined in depth as a facet of early modern visual culture. See, for example, Pappa, 2008; Gutierrez, 2003. And as a foundation for early modern thought on the subject, see Bynum.

12. Husband, 1–11.
13. Pels' poem is one of the earliest surviving contemporary comments to assume he is most likely referring to the *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound*: "'Als hij een' naakte vrouw, gelijk 't somtijds gebeurende, Zou schild'ren, tot model geen Griekse Venus keurde: Maar eer een' waschter, of turftreedster uit een' schuur, Zijn dwaaling noemende navolging van Natuur, Al't ander ydele verziering. Slappe borsten' Verwrongen handen, ja de neepen vans de worsten / Des rijglifs in de buik, des kousebands om't been. / 't Moest al gevolgd zijn, of natuur was niet tevreen." 35–36.
14. For a critical study of early commentary of the naked woman, see Slive, 29 and Emmens, 73–76. "What was in [Rembrandt's] mind when he felt impelled to set down these painful visions of human nakedness? First of all, no doubt, a defiant honesty. Although Rembrandt was willing to adopt any device that would contribute to the technical development of his art, he was unable to accept a formula that might compromise the truth of his vision; and such, pre-eminently, was the artificial shape of his contemporaries, even among his countrymen, had agreed to impose on the naked body. As a sort of protest Rembrandt has gone out of his way to find the most deplorable body imaginable and emphasize its least attractive features. Few young women in Amsterdam, and the face of the *Woman Seated on a Mound* suggests that she was still under thirty, can have so huge and shapeless a stomach. We can hardly bring our eyes to dwell on her: and that, I imagine, was exactly Rembrandt's intention. In the second etching, the figure is less monstrous, but the defiance of classicism is more explicit, for the fat, flaccid creature has been given the attributes of Diana." Quoted from Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, 436; See Clark, *An Introduction to Rembrandt*, 44 and Slive, 83.
15. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, 10; Clark, *The Nude*, 436; Hollander, 160. For seventeenth-and eighteenth-century commentary, the following provide an overview of critical disregard for the image: "Ja selfs als een Leda of Danaë soude werden uytgebeeld (soo veer gingh de ghewoonte) wiert gemaeckt een vrouwe-naekt met een dicken en gheswollen buyck, hangende borsten, kneepen van kousebanden in de beenen, en veel meer sulke wanschaepenheyt," from Jan de Bisschop's comments about the etching in the dedication of his 1671 treatise, *Paradigmata Graphices variorum Artificum,* and Samuel Hoogstraten, 64: "Zie toe, of de Knien door den Kouseband niet bedorven zijn, of de Knie-muskulen, als bij d'ouden is waergenomen, haer eygene gedaante hebben, of de Scheenen en Kuiten niet met kneepen door't binden vervalst zijn." Quoted in Slive, 83; also Pels, 35–36.
16. Schama, 393.

17. See Hinterding for recent studies on the prints within the context of Rembrandt's working method. *Rembrandt as an Etcher,* vol. 2, 294.
18. See Slive, 29; For Hollar, see Hollstein, 73 and Pennington, 279.
19. See Schott, 42–44.
20. The following sources discuss *Diana* and *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* as prints that were intended as a pair: Royalton-Kisch; for a discussion of *Diana*, see White, 193–96; For the prints discussed in terms of size in Hinterding, v. 1, 70; and Williams, ed., 47–48; Holmes, 246; Hinterding, v. 2, 338–339; For an interpretation of the figure as a nymph, see Reznicek, 92–94; See Sluijter's discussion of the figure within the framework of traditional themes for the nude in the northern visual arts, 274–275. Clark described Diana as "fat [and] flaccid." See *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, 436.
21. For a formalist approach to *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound*, see Kok, 118, cat. no. B198; Biörkund, cat. no. BB 31–35; Hind, cat. no. 43; Münz, 20; Blankert, cat. no. 99; Bevers and Welzel, cat. no. 6, 182–184; White and. Boon, cat. no. B198; Holmes, 246.
22. This has been attributed to Rembrandt's early studio practice. Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, 294–295.
23. "Ja selfs als een Leda of Danaë soude werden uytgebeeld (soo veer gingh de ghewoonte) wiert gemaeckt een vrouwe-naekt met een dicken en gheswollen buyck, hangende borsten, kneepen van kousebanden in de beenen, en veel meer sulke wanschaepenheyt," from Jan de Bisschop's comments about the etching in the dedication of his 1671 treatise, *Paradigmata Graphices variorum Artificum,* and Samuel Hoogstraten, 64.
24. Jan de Bisschop does not name the specific print, but scholars generally attribute his reamrks as directed toward the *Naked Woman* and *Diana*, "…even if a Leda or a Danaë was represented, one depicted a naked woman with a fat, swollen stomach, pendulous breasts, garter marks on her legs, and many more such deformities." Jan de Bisschop quoted in Emmens, 73–76. Andries Pels' poem is one of the earliest surviving contemporary comments about the naked woman. Although he does not mention the image by name, and further, we do not know how seventeenth-century viewers and buyers referred to the etching, his close description of the body and harsh condemnation of the figure have led scholars to assume he is most likely referring to the *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound*: "'Als hij een' naakte vrouw, gelijk 't somtijds gebeurende, Zou schild'ren, tot model geen Griekse Venus keurde: Maar eer een' waschter, of turftreedster uit een' schuur, Zijn dwaaling noemende navolging van Natuur, Al't ander ydele verziering. Slappe borsten' Verwrongen handen, ja de neepen vans de worsten / Des rijglifs in de buik, des

kousebands om't been. / 't Moest al gevolgd zijn, of natuur was niet tevreen." Pels, 35–36.

25. Sullivan, for example, identified iconography related to lust and gluttony in Breuegel's *Dulle Griet* as indicative of folly. See 59–66.
26. Bynum, 262; Schaus, 569; Allen, 91–95, 183; Thompson, 127–128, note 60. Flood, 67. Stark, ed., on *The Trinity* book 12.
27. Bettella, 10, see chapter 1, notes 1 and 2; Guy, 176–177.
28. Basil of Caesarea, 1.3 (PG 31. 164-168, dated c. 363–370 CE) quoted and translated in Shaw, 81.
29. As Stichele and Penner have shown, women themselves were cast in earliest exegesis as an "other" in comparison to male religious authority and ideology. Women were framed, for example by Eusebius, as "deviant" with a tendency to heresy. Stichele and Penner, 98, 101.
30. Pizan, quoted in Part I.
31. Robertson, 175.
32. Even the particular iconography of poultry that Gula eats was in literature and the visual arts invested with meanings of a rapacious female sexuality. Classen, ed., 505–506; Associations between poultry and women's sexuality were vigorously evident in seventeenth-century Holland, most prominently in the visual pun of "voegelen" or "birding" as slang for sexual intercourse. See Jongh, 22–74.
33. Gordon, 511.
34. Levy-Navarro, 37–38.
35. Abelard, 129; For a useful discussion of the ancient and Christian writers who championed this concept, see Grimm, 154–158; For one of many medieval examples, Pierre related gluttony to genitals and belly ("Vicina enim sunt venter genitalia"), see Baldwin, 182; Garnsey, 96. Hill, 37; Sandnes, 9–10.
36. *Fasciculum Morum*, VII. vi.665; also quoted in Classen, 4.
37. Hill, 37; Sandnes, 9–10.
38. John Chrysostom cited the twin evils of gluttony and wantonness as reason for self-denial because: "These sicknesses which utterly destroy the good health of the body and the prudence of the soul are wicked streams that emanate from the most wicked fountain of wantoness and gluttony…I see many men as if they are about to surrender themselves to a wild woman; to this degree they hesitate and withdraw and today they destroy themselves in drunkeness and gluttony." Chrysostom Trans. by Christo, 66.
39. Chrysostom, Homily 5.66.
40. For the relationship between food and desire in these contexts, see Brown, 213–240; Bynum, 43.
41. Hill, 60; quoted in Cassian, 183.

42. Elliott, 35.
43. Grimm, 154–158.
44. Jerome's Letter 54.8 to Furia, 2nd ser., 6; quoted in Grimm, 157, note 75.
45. Gordon, 511.
46. Gordon, 505–506; Associations between poultry and women's sexuality were vigorously evident in seventeenth-century century Holland, most prominently in the visual pun of "voegelen" or "birding" as slang for sexual intercourse. Honig, 68; see also van de Wetering, ed., 23.
47. Greco and Rose, 1.
48. Greco and Rose, 77.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 78. The author makes clear in this section that men and women are prone to lust by gluttony.
51. Ibid., 77.
52. Smith, 35–52.
53. For a useful discussion of the ancient and Christian writers who championed this concept, see Grimm, 154–158; For one of many medieval examples, Pierre related gluttony to genitals and belly as anatomically close ("Vicina enim sunt venter est genitalia") in Baldwin, 182; Garnsey, 96.
54. Sluijter, "The Nude, the Artist and the Model: The Case of Rembrandt," 11.
55. For studies on the northern European early modern nude in comparison to Rembrandt's female figures, see Schott, 86.
56. Hollander, 160; Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, 276.
57. Hollander 158–161; According to Marieke de Winkel, stomacher garments were worn by married middle-class women and usually accompanied by a ruff. Since extended stomach-type garments seem to have had specific associations with rank and status, it is an open question as to whether those particular fashions would have had currency in reference to an unclothed figure. For garments in their social context, see de Winkel, 77. According to Tom Tierny, the stomacher was mostly out of fashion throughout Europe by the 1630s, or worn under the dress. See Kelly and Schwabe, 132.
58. Burke, 720–726. Burke reinforces the social role of clothes, and in doing so notes that nakedness implies the "potential to be clothed," as the ability to achieve a civilized status.
59. Schaff, ed., Homily 27, 176.
60. Attributed at one time to Israhel van Meckenem. Hollstein, v. 10, 183–185.
61. Seidel, 207; We see similar examples of figures in nature that are associated with lasciviousness who have discarded their clothing; Antonio Pisanello's drawing *Luxuria* c. 1426 (Albertina, Vienna) pictures a nude

reclining on a cloth with a rabbit at her feet, suggesting her place in nature as part of her "wildness." Burke, 728.

62. See Greco and Rose, 57–58. This trend in conduct books is summarized in Dinshaw and Wallace, 134.
63. For the etymology of "naked" and "nude," see Barcan 32-33. Much of the naked-nude discussion in regards to Rembrandt seems to derive from Clark's *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*.
64. For ideas on artistic rivalry in the context of the *Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* as an image of a model for the artist, see Sluijter, "The Nude, the Artist and the Model: The Case of Rembrandt," 11; Ackley, 283–284. Alpers, 156.
65. For discussion of Rembrandt's naturalism in *The Naked Woman Seated on a Mound* as a reflection of his use of models, see Andreas Pels' poem referenced above and Alpers, 155–156.
66. Although a more idealized figure, Annibale's Susanna is seated similarly in a twisted pose with her legs drawn sharply to the side. Bruyn, 28–29; Baldwin, 22–24; Royalton-Kisch, 103–104; Broos, 67, cat. no. 36. Alongside these, Willem Buytewech's seated, bent figure of *Bathsheba,* c. 1515, with her protruding belly seems to foreshadow the naked woman as well. Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, 271.
67. White, 20.
68. The wild man in the visual arts is broadly surveyed in two exhibition catalogues, see throughout Möller and Husband; As a signifier for uncivilized tendencies lurking within every individual, wild folk were regarded as "always present, inhabiting the immediate confines of the community… just out of sight, over the horizon, in the nearby forest, desert, mountains or hills" and as such they represented "…desire incarnate, possessing strength, wit and cunning to give full expression to all his lusts…correspondingly unstable in character. He is a glutton, eating to satiety one day and starving the next; he is lascivious and promiscuous without even consciousness of sin or perversion…" See White, 6–10.
69. Bernheimer 36–39.
70. White, 21.
71. Useful to the present investigation is White's discussion of the psychological implications of the wild man, notably his role as a representative of man's irrational nature; On this topic, see also Husband, 4–5.
72. Bernheimer, 34–35, 37–38; Husband, 62–64. Some early exegetes make explicit links between anthropophagy and libidinousness, as a case for appetites that have gone out of control. See the twelfth century decree by Benedictine Rupert of Deutz, quoted in Steel, 71.
73. Discussed in conjunction with early engravings in Moseley-Christian, 429–442.

74. See, for example, Wolff, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch* v. 23, 220–223 in the Middle Ages as ornamental motifs on a variety of decorative arts, and were adopted via illuminated manuscripts. Wolff, "Manuscript Sources for the Playing-Card Master's Number Cards," 591, 596–598.
75. The only known surviving impression is in the collection of the Albertina, Vienna. Lehrs, 172, cat. no. 30; Geisberg, v. I, 12, 38; Wolff, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch* v. 23, cat. no. 25, 220.
76. For Rembrandt's awareness of print precedents, see in particular Scallen, 135–139, throughout Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* but notably p. 21 and also White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher*, v. 1; For a small selection on this expansive topic, see Wheelock, Jr., 287–296; Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, passim; Cornelis and Kok, 46–48; Carroll, 585–610.
77. A transcription of the complete inventory of Rembrandt's 1565 bankruptcy can be found with translation in Strauss and van der Meulen, 369.
78. Sluijter, "The Nude, the Artist and the Model: The Case of Rembrandt," 11.
79. In concord with legend, the playing card wild queen looks at the viewer, conjuring her legendary ability to ensnare a victim with her gaze, sometimes turning herself from an ugly hag into an attractive woman to trick a man into willing sexual congress. Bernheimer, 36–37.
80. Quoted from Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, 436; See also Clark, *An Introduction to Rembrandt*, 44 and Slive, 83.

Bibliography

Ackley, Clifford, et al. *Rembrandt's Journey: Painter, Draftsman, Etcher*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2003.

Adams, Noël, John Cherry, and James Robinson, eds. *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*. London: British Museum, 2008.

Adler, Michael. *The Jews of Medieval England*. London: Edward Goldston Limited, 1939.

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker: Images of Urban Labor, Manufacture and Shopkeeping from the Middle Ages." In *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Curtis Perry, 89–110. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. "Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Christian Art." *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993): 1–36.

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. "*Labeur* and *Paresse*: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor." *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 436–52.

Allen, Prudence. *The Concept of Woman: The Early Humanist Reformation 1250–1500*. Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002.

Alpers, Svetlana. "Not Bathsheba: The Painter and the Model." In *Rembrandt's "Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter"* edited by Ann Jensen Adams. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Arnade, Peter and Walter Prevenir. *Honor, Vengeance, and Social Trouble: Pardon Letters in the Burgundian Low Countries*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015.

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4

Asperen, Hanneke van. "The Sheltering Cloak: Images of Charity and Mercy in Fourteenth-century Italy." *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture* (2013): 262–80.

Baert, Barbara. "'Who Touched My Clothes?' The Healing of the Woman with a Haemorrhage (Mark 5:30)." In *Interspaces between Word, Gaze and Touch: The Bible and the Visual Medium in the Middle Ages*. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.

Bagnoli, Martina, et al., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Baldwin, John W. *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Baldwin, Robert. "Rembrandt's Visual Sources from Italy and Antiquity." *Source* 4, no. 1 (1984).

Bale, Anthony. *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Baluze, Etienne. *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne: Justifée par chartres, titres, histoires anciennes et autres preuves authentiques*. Paris: Antoine Dezallier, 1708.

Barcan, Ruth. *Nudity: A Cultural Anatomy*. New York: Berg, 2004.

Barth, Ulrich. *Erlesenes aus dem Basler Münsterschatz*. Basel: Historisches Museum Basel, 1990.

Bartlett, Robert. *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1986.

Baskins, Cristelle Louise. *Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Beattie, Cordellia, and Kristen Fenton, ed. *Intersections of Gender, Religion, and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*. London: Palgrave, 2011.

Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Belting, Hans. *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*. New Rochelle: A. D. Caratzas, 1990.

Benay, Erin E. and Lisa M. Rafanelli, *Faith, Gender and the Senses in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art: Interpreting the Noli me tangere and Doubting Thomas*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Bettella, Patrizia. *The Ugly Woman: Trangressive Aesthetic Models in Italian Poetry from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Bevan, Bryan. *Henry IV*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Bevers, Holm and Barbara Welzel, *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Bewes, Timothy. "Reading with the Grain: A New World in Literary Criticism." *differences* 21, no. 3 (2010): 1–33.

Biddick, Kathleen. "Genders, Bodies, Borders: Technologies of the Visible." *Speculum* 68:2 (1993): 389–418.

Bildhauer, Bettina and Robert Mills. "Introduction." In *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, edited by Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills, 1–27. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Binski, Paul. *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. London: British Museum Press, 1996.

Biörkund, George. *Rembrandt's Etchings True and False*. Stockholm, 1955.

Blankert, Albert. "Excursus: Perfectly Beautiful and Stark Naked." In *Dutch Classicism*. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2000.

Blankert, Albert. *Rembrandt: A Genius and His Impact*. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1997.

Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Blumenkranz, Bernard. *Le Juif Medieval au Miroir de l'Art Chretien*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1966.

Bonaventura, "*Meditationes Vitae Christi*." In *Opera Omnia*, edited by A.C. Peltier Paris 1868.

Bornstein, Daniel. *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.

Bovey, Alixe. "A Pictorial Ex Libris in the Smithfield Decretals: John Batayle, Canon of St Bartholomew's, and his Illuminated Law Book." In *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700: Decoration and Illustration in Medieval English Manuscripts*, edited by A. S. G. Edwards. London: British Library, 2002.

Bowers, Susan. "Medusa and the Female Gaze." *NWSA Journal* (1990): 271–335.

Boyd, Beverly. *The Middle English Miracles of the Virgin*. San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1964.

Boynton, Susan and Diane J. Reilly. *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Braunstein, Philippe. "Erscheinungsformen einer Kollektividentität: Die Bewohner des Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig (12. – 17. Jahrhundert)." In *Hochfinanz, Wirtschaftsräume, Innovationen: Festschrift für Wolfgang von Stromer*, edited by Uwe Bestmann, et. al. Trier: Verlag, 1987.

Brooks, Jeanice. "Catherine de Medici, Nouvelle Artémise: Women's Laments and the Virtue of Grief." *Early Music* XXVII/3 (August 1999): 419–36.

Broos, Ben. *Rembrandt en zijn voorbeelden*. Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 1986.

Brown, Elizabeth A.R. *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1991.

Brown, Peter Scott. "As Excrement to Sacrament: The Dissimulated Pagan Idol of Ste-Marie d'Oloron," *The Art Bulletin* 87:4 (Dec. 2005): 571–588.

Brown, Peter. *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Bruyn, J. "Rembrandt and the Italian Baroque," *Simiolus* 4, no. 1 (1970).

Burke, Jill. "Nakedness and Other Peoples: Rethinking the Italian Renaissance Nude," *Art History* v. 36 no. 4 (2013).

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Bynum, Carolyn Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. *Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987*.

Bynum, Carolyn Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Cadden, Joan. *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Natural Philosophy, and Culture*. Cambridge, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Callahan, Vicki, "Gazing Outward: The Spectrum of Feminist Reception Theory," in *Reclaiming the Archive: Feminism and Film History*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010.

Camille, Michael. "Laboring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History* 10 (1987): 423–54.

Camille, Michael. *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Camille, Michael. *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Cannon, Joanna and André Vauchez, *Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti: Sienese Art and the Cult of a Holy Woman in Medieval Tuscany*. University Park, PA: State University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Carroll, Jane Louise and Alison G. Stewart. *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Burlington, VT; Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003.

Carter, Peter. "The Historical Content of William of Malmesbury's Miracles of the Virgin Mary." In *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages, Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, edited by R.H.C. David and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Caskey, Jill. "Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art." In *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, edited by Conrad Rudolph, 193–212. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Cassidy-Welch, Megan and Peter Sherlock. *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Cavanaugh, Susan H. *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England: 1300–1450*. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980.

Caviness, Madeline and Charles Nelson. "Silent Witnesses, Absent Women, and the Law Courts in Medieval Germany." In *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, edited by Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, 47–72. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Caviness, Madeline. ""(Ex)changing Colors: Queens of Sheba and Black Madonnas."" In *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts: Produktion und Rezeption: Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Stephan Gasser, Christian Freigang and Bruno Boerner, 553–70. Bern; New York: Lang, 2006.

Caviness, Madeline. "Feminism, Gender Studies and Medieval Studies." *Diogenes* 57 (2010): 409–16.

Caviness, Madeline. "From the Self-Invention of the Whiteman in the Thirteenth Century to The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly," *Different Visions* (2008).

Caviness, Madeline. "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons." In *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, edited by June Hall McCash, 105–54. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.

Caviness, Madeline. *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Chaganti, Seeta. *The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary: Enshrinement, Inscription, Performance*. New York: Macmilan, 2008.

Chambers, David and Brian Pullan, eds. *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450–1630* Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2001.

Chapman, H. Perry. *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-century Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Chojnacki, Stanley. *Men and Women in Renaissance Venice. Twelve Essays on Patrician Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000.

Christine de Pizan, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies*. Translated by Charity Cannon Willard. Edited by Madeleine Pelner Cosman. New York: Persea Books, 1989.

Chrysostom, John. *On Repentance and Alsmgiving* (Fathers of the Church, v. 96) Translated by Gus George Christo. Catholic University of America Press, 1998.

Cixious, Hélène, Keith Cohen, and Paula Cohen, "The Laugh of the Medusa," *Signs* (Summer 1976): 875–893.

Clark, James G. et al., *Ovid in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Clark, Kenneth. *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*. New York: New York University Press, 1966.

Clark, Kenneth. *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.

Classen, Albrecht. *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.

Cockrell, S. *A Psalter and Hours Executed Before 1270 for a Lady Connected with St. Louis, probably his sister Isabelle of France*. London: Chiswick, 1905.

Cohen, Evelyn. "Woman's Illuminated Hebrew Prayer Books in Renaissance Italy." In *Donne nella storia degli ebrei d'Italia: atti del IX Convegno internazionale "Italia Judaica" Lucca, 6–9 giugno 2005*, edited by Michele Luzzati and Cristina Galasso. Florence: Giuntina, 2007.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome ed. *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)." In *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 3–25. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Cohen, Jeremy. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Cohen, Kathleen. *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Collins, Patricia Hill and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2016.

Copeland, Rita. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Cornelis, Bart and Jan Piet Filedt Kok, "The Taste for Lucas van Leyden Prints." *Simiolus* 26, no. 1/2 (1998): 46–48.

Craig, Leigh Ann. *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Crawford, Katherine. "Catherine de Medici and the Performance of Political Motherhood." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31/3 (2000): 643–73.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory

and Antiracist Politics." *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140(1993): 139–67.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*. New York: New Press, 1995.

Cressy, David. "Lamentable, Strange, and Wonderful: Headless Monsters in the English Revolution." In *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes, 44–53. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Crouzet, Denis. "'A strong desire to be a mother to all of your subjects:' A Rhetorical Experiment by Catherine de Medici." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38/1 (Winter 2008): 103–18.

Crouzet, Denis. *Le haut coeur de Catherine de Médicis: Une raison politique aux temps de la Saint-Barthélemy*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2005.

Cullum, P.H. "Gendering Charity in Medieval Hagiography." In *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe, edited by* Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih, 135–151. London: Routledge, 2002.

d'Ambra, Eve. "The Calculus of Venus: Nude Portraits of Roman Matrons." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, edited by Nathalie Boymel Kampen, 219–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Dahl, Ellert. "Heavenly Images: The Statue of St. Foy of Conques and the Signification of the Medieval 'Cult-Image' in the West." *Acta ad archaeologiam et Artium historiam pertinentia* 8 (1979): 175–192.

Daston, Lorraine and Katherine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.

Davies, Surekha. "The Unlucky, the Bad, and the Ugly: Categories of Monstrosity from the Renaissance to the Present." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, edited by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle, 49–76. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.

de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. Translated by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010.

de Wetering, Ernst Van, ed. *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings IV*. Dordrecht: Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project, 2015.

de Winkel, Marieke. *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Delaissé, L. M. J. "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book." In *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, edited by U. E. McCracken, 203–225. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974.

Demus, Otto. *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*. Boston: Boston Books and Art Shop, 1955.

Derbes, Anne and Mark Sandona, "'Ave charitate plena': Variations on the Theme of Charity in the Arena Chapel." *Speculum* 76 (July 2001): 599–637.

Derbes, Anne and Mark Sandona, "Barren Metal and the Fruitful Womb: The Program of Giotto's Arena Chapel, Padua." *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 274–91.

Despres, Denise. "Mary of the Eucharist: Cultic Anti-Judaism in Some Fourteenth- Century English Devotional Manuscripts." In *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, edited by Jeremy Cohen. Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997.

DeVun, Leah. "The Jesus Hermaphrodite: Science and Sex Difference in Premodern Europe." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69, no. 2 (2008): 193–218.

Dimitrova, Kate. "Class, Sex, and the Other: The Representation of Peasants in a Set of Late Medieval Tapestries." *Viator* 38, no. 2 (2007): 85–125.

Dinshaw, Carolyn and David Wallace, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Doyle, Jennifer and Amelia Jones, "Introduction: New Feminist Theories of Visual Culture." *Signs*. 31, no. 3 (2006): 607–15.

Duby, George. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Dunn, Caroline. *Stolen Women in Medieval England: Rape, Abduction, and Adultery, 1100–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Dürer, Albrecht. *Four Books on Human Proportion*. Nuremberg, Hieronymous Andreae, 1532–34.

Dursteler, Eric ed. *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Easton, Martha. "The Wound of Christ, the Mouth of Hell: Appropriations and Inversions of Female Anatomy in the Later Middle Ages." In *Illuminations: Medieval and Renaissance Studies for Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, edited by Gerald B. Guest, Eric Inglis and Susan L'Engle, 395–409 London: Harvey Miller/Brepols, 2006.

Easton, Martha. "Feminism." *Studies in Iconography*. 33 (2012): 99–112.

Eggenberger, Dorothee. *Der Basler Münsterschatz*. Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 2001.

Ekholst, Christine. *A Punishment for Each Criminal: Gender and Crime in Swedish Medieval Law*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Elliott, Dyan. "Flesh and Spirit: The Female Body." In *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition C. 1100-C. 1500*, edited by A. J. Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden, 13–46. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010.

Elliott, Dyan. "Gender and the Christian Traditions." In *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, edited by Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, 21–35. Oxford; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013.

Elliott, Dyan. *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality and Demonology in the Middle Ages*. University Park, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Emmens, J. A. *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1968.

Ennen, L. "Die Stadt Köln und das Kaufhaus der Deutschen in Venedig." *Monatschrift für Rheinisch-Westfälische Geschichtsforschung und Alterthumskunde*, 1, 1875: 105–137.

Epstein, Marc Michael. "Women Hidden in Plain Sight." In *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative, and Religious Imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain. *Le Roi est Mort: Étude sur les Funérailles, les Sépultures et les Tombeaux des Rois de France jusque'a la Fin du XIIIe Siècle*. Geneva: Droz, 1975.

Evans, Joan. *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, particularly in England*. New York: Dover Publications, 1976.

Fabri, Felix. *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*. Translated by Aubrey Stewart. London: Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society Publications, 1869.

Farmer, Sharon and Carol Braun Pasternack. *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Farmer, Sharon. "'It is not Good that [Wo]man Should be Alone:' Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris." In *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800*, ed. Judith Bennett and Amy Froide , 82–105. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Farmer, Sharon. *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Farr, James. "Honor, Law, and Custom in the Renaissance." In *A Companion to Worlds of the Renaissance*, edited by Guido Ruggiero, 124–38. Somerset, N.J.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.

Feldman, Yael, "Otherness and Difference: The Perspective of Gender Theory." In *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism & Xenophobia*, edited by Robert S. Wistrich, 168–82. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1999.

ffolliott, Sheila. "Catherine de Medici as Artemesia: Figuring the Powerful Widow." In *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers, 227–41. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Filedt Kok, J. P. *Rembrandt: Etchings and Drawings in the Rembrandt House, a Catalogue*. Maarsen: G. Schwartz, 1972.

Finlay, Robert. *Politics in Renaissance Venice*. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1980.

Fleminger, John. *Behind the Eyes of David*. Sussex: Book Guild, 2002.

Flood, David, ed. *Poverty in the Middle Ages*. New Haven: Yale University Press 1975.

Flood, John. *Representations of Eve in Antiquity and the English Middle Ages*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Flora, Holly. "Poverty's Daughters: Gender and Devotion in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Ital. 115." In *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Susan C. Karant-Nunn. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003.

Flora, Holly. "Patronage." In *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms*, edited by Nina Rowe. Special issue of *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 207–18.

Florschuetz, Angela. *Marking Maternity in Middle English Romance: Mothers, Identity, and Contamination*. New York: Palgrave, 2014.

Foerster, Thomas, ed. *Godfrey of Viterbo and His Readers: Imperial Tradition and Universal History in Late Medieval Europe*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2015.

Fortini Brown, Patricia. *The Renaissance in Venice, a World Apart*. London: Calmann & King LTD, 1997.

Fraher, Richard M. "Conviction According to Conscience: The Medieval Jurists' Debate concerning Judicial Discretion and the Law of Proof." *Law and History Review* 7, no. 1 (1989): 23–88.

Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991.

French, Katherine. "Genders and Material Culture." In *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, edited by Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, 197–212. Oxford; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013.

Freud, Sigmund. "Medusa's Head," reprinted in *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963.

Friedman, John Block. *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Froissart, Jean. *The Chronicles of England, France and Spain by Sir John Froissart*. Translated by T. Johnes. London, 1857.

Frojmovic, Eva. *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades. *Fulgentius the Mythographer*. Translated by L. G. Whitbread. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971.

Galley, Chris and Nicola Shelton. "Bridging the Gap: Determining Long-Term Changes in Infant Mortality in Pre-Registration England and Wales." *Population Studies* 55/1 (March 2001): 65–77.

Ganze, Ronalad. "The Medieval Sense of Self." In *Misconceptions about the Middle Ages* edited by Stephen J. Harris and Bryon Lee Grigsby. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Garnsey, Peter. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Gerson, Paul and Caroline Walker Bynum. "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages." *Gesta* 36:1 (1997): 3–7.

Gervase of Tillbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*. Translated and edited by S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.

Gilchrist, Roberta. *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Medieval Religious Women*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Glover, Sarah Rose. *Illustrations of the Miracles of the Virgin in English Books of Hours*. Dissertation, University of Virginia: 2003.

Godefrey of Viterbo. *Pantheon*. Basel: Johannes Herold, 1559.

Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Anchor Books, 1959.

Golahny, Amy. *Rembrandt's Reading: The Artist's Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003.

Gonzalez de Lara, Yadira. "The Secret of Venetian Success: A Public-Order, Reputation-Based Institution," *European Review of Economic History*, 12, 3 (December 2008): 247–285.

Goodich, Michael, ed. and trans., *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Gordon, Sarah. "Sausages, Nuts and Eggs: Food Imagery, the Body, and Sexuality in the Old French *Fabliaux*." In *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary- Anthropological Theme*, edited by Albrecht Classen. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.

Gosselin, Edward A. *The King's Progress to Jerusalem: Some Interpretations of David during the Reformation Period and their Patristic and Medieval Background*. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1976.

Gowing, Laura. *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Griffiths, Fiona. *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Grimm, Veronika. *From Feasting to Fasting: The Evolution of a Sin*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Grummond, Nancy T. "Helena Fourment and Rubens, Venus and Apelles." *Southeastern College Art Conference Review* vol. 9 no. 1(1976): 27–28.

Grzanka, Patrick R. *Intersectionality: A Foundations and Frontiers Reader*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014.

Guest, Gerald. "A Discourse on the Poor: The Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux," *Viator* 26 (1995): 153–180.

Gümbel, Albert. *Dürers Rosenkranszfest und die Fugger. Konrad Peutinger, der Begleiter Dürers*. Strassburg: Heitz, 1926.

Guy, Laurie. *Introducing Early Christianity: A Topical Survey of its Life, Beliefs and Practices*. InterVarsity Press, 2004.

Häberlein, Mark. *The Fuggers of Augsburg. Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012.

Hahn, Cynthia. "*Peregrinatio* et *Natio*: The Illustrated Life of St Edmund, King and Martyr," *Gesta* 30 (1991): 119–139.

Hahn, Cynthia. "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta* 36:2 (1997): 20–31.

Hamburger, Jeffrey. *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Hanley, Sarah. "Identity Politics and Ruler ship in France: Female Political Place and the Fraudulent Salic Law in Christine de Pizan and Jean de Montreuil." In *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, edited by Michael Wolfe, 78–94. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Hanley, Sarah. "Mapping Rulership in the French Body Politic: Political Identity, Public Law, and the King's One Body." *Historical Reflections/Réflections Historiques* 23/2 (1997): 129–49.

Hanley, Sarah. "The Monarchic State in Early Modern France: Marital Regime Government and Male Right." In *Politics, Ideology, and the Law in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of J.H.M. Salmon*, edited by Adrianna E. Bakos, 107–26. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1994.

Hanley, Sarah. *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Harris, Julie Ann. "Love in the Land of Goshen: Haggadah, History, and the Making of British Library, MS Oriental 2737." *Gesta* 52, no. 2 (2013): 161–80.

Harris, Julie Ann. "Making Room at the Table: Women, Passover, and the Sensory in the 'Sister Haggadah', London BL Ms Or 2884." *The Journal of Medieval History* 42:1 (2016): 131–153.

Heaton, Mary Margaret. *The Life of Albrecht Dürer of Nürnberg. With a Translation of His Letters and Journal and an Account of His Works*. Portland: Longwood Press, 1977.

Heinrichs, Katherine. *The Myths of Love: Classical Lovers in Medieval Literature*. State College: Penn State Press, 2008.

Helas, Philine. "The Clothing of Poverty and Sanctity in Legends and their Representations in Trecento and Quattrocento Italy." In *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and Their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages* edited by Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert, 245–287. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

Heller, Jennifer. *The Mother's Legacy in Early Modern England*. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2011.

Henderson, John. "Women, Children, and Poverty in Florence at the Time of the Black Death." In *Poor Women and Children in the European Past*, edited by John Henderson and Richard Wall, 160–179. London: Routledge, 1994.

Henderson, John. *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*. Chicago and London: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Henig, Martin. "The Re-use and copying of ancient intaglios set in Medieval personal seals mainly found in England: an aspect of the Renaissance of the 12th century." In *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, edited by Noël Adams, John Cherry and James Robinson, 25–34. London: British Museum, 2008.

Higginson, Peter. "Fashioning the Poor in Sixteenth-Century Europe," *Art History* 33 (2010): 724–727.

Hill, Susan E. "'The Ooze of Gluttony': Attitudes Towards Food, Eating and Excess in the Middle Ages." In *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals* (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions) edited by Richard Newhauser. Leiden/Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007.

Hill, Susan E. *Eating to Excess: The Meaning of Gluttony and the Fat Body in Ancient* World. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011.

Hillaby, Joe. "The Ritual-Child-Murder Accusation: Its Dissemination and Harold of Gloucester," *Jewish Historical Studies* 34 (1994–1996): 69–109.

Hiller, Diana. *Gendered Perceptions of Florentine Last Supper Frescoes, c. 1350–1490*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014.

Hind, Arthur M. *Rembrandt's Etchings: An Essay and a Catalogue*. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1912.

Hinterding, Erik. *Rembrandt as an Etcher,* vol. 2, *Studies in Prints and Printmaking*. Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: Sound and Vision, 2006.

Hoffmann, Wesley. "The Fondaco de tedeschi: The Medium of Venetian-German Trade," *Journal of Political Economy* 40, 2 (Apr., 1932): 244–252.

Högberg, Ulf, Elisabeth Iregren, Claes-Henrik Siven, and Lennart Diener. "Maternal Deaths in Medieval Sweden: An Osteological and Life Table Analysis." *Journal of Biosocial Science* 19 (1987): 495–503.

Hohenbourg, Herrad von. *Hortus Deliciarum*. Edited by Rosalie Green. London: Warburg Institute, 1979.

Hollander, Anne. *Seeing Through Clothes*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Hollstein, F. W. H. *Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700*. Amsterdam: Meno Hertzberger, 1949.

Hollywood, Amy. "Feminist Studies." In *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Spirituality*, edited by Arthur G. Holder. Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005.

Holmes, C. J. "The Development of Rembrandt as an Etcher II: Rembrandt, 1630–1636." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 9, no. 40 (1906).

Holsinger, Bruce W. "Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique." *Speculum* 77, no. 4 (2002): 1195–227.

Honig, Elizabeth. *The Magic of Things: Still-Life Painting, 1500–1800*. Frankfurt am Main and Stadel: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2008.

Hoogstraten, Samuel. *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilder-Konst*. Rotterdam, 1678.

Hoogvliet, Margriet. "Princely Culture and Catherine de Medici." In *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450–1560*, vol. 1, edited by Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald, and Arjo Vanderjagt, 103–30. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Hopkins, Jasper. *Nicholas of Cusa's Dialectical Mysticism: Text, Translation, and Interpretive Study of* De Visione Dei. 3rd ed. Minneapolis, Minn.: Arthur J. Banning, 1988.

Houbraken, Arnold. *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstchilders en Schilderessen*. Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1976.

Hourihane, Colum. *King David in the Index of Christian Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Howell, Martha. *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Huet, Marie-Hélène. "Monstrous Medicine." In *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes, 127–47. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Huet, Marie-Hélène. *Monstrous Imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Hults, Linda C., *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2005.

Humfrey, Peter. "Competitive Devotions: The Venetian Scuole Piccole as Donors of Altarpieces in the Years around 1500." *The Art Bulletin*, 70, 3 (Sep., 1988): 401–423.

Humfrey, Peter. "Dürer's Feast of the Rosegarlands: A Venetian Altarpiece." *Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague*, 1 (1991).

Humfrey, Peter. *The Renaissance Altarpiece in Venice*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1993.

Huot, Sylvia. "The Medusa Interpolation in the Romance of the Rose: Mythographic Program and Ovidian Intertext." *Speculum* 62:4 (October 1987): 865–877.

Husband, Timothy. *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981.

Innes-Parker, Catherine. "The Lady and the King: *Ancrene Wisse*'s Parable of the Royal Wooing Re-examined," *English Studies* 75:6 (1994): 509–522.

Jacobs, Joseph. *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays*. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1896.

Jacobs, Joseph. *The Jews of Angevin England*. New York, 1893.

Jacobus de Voraigne. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated and edited by William Granger. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012.

James, Regina. *Losing Our Heads: Beheadings in Literature and Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

Jansen, Sharon L. *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Jongh, Eddy de. "Erotica in vogel-perspectief. De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen." *Simiolus* 3 (1968/69) 22–74.

Joris Lodder, Frederik. *Lachen om List en Lust. Studies over de Middelnederlandse komische versvertellingen*. Dissertation, University of Leiden, 1997.

Kantorowicz, Ernst. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Kapferer, Judith ed. *Images of Power and the Power of Images: Control, Ownership and Public Space*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.

Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1964.

Kay, Sarah. "Women's Body of Knowledge: Epistemology and Misogyny in the 'Romance of the Rose'." In *Framing Medieval Bodies*, edited by Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, 211–235. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Keith, Allison and Stephen Rupp, editors. *Metamorphosis: The Changing Face of Ovid in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007.

Kelleher, Marie. "Later Medieval Law in a Community Context." In *The Oxford Handbook of Women & Gender in Medieval Europe*, edited by Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, 133–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Kelly, Francis Michael and Randolph Schwabe. *European Costume and Fashion 1490–1790*. New York: Dover, 1929.

Kessler, Herbert. *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Khalil, Atif. "Beyond a Western Self and Non-Western Other: Edward Said and His Critics on Truth and Representation," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 33, no. 3–4 (2004): 319–37.

King, Margaret L. and Albert Rabil, Jr., "The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: Introduction to the Series." In Antonia Pulci, *Florentine Drama for Convent and Festival: Seven Sacred Plays,* translated by James Wyatt Cook, ix–xxviii. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

King, Pamela. "'My Image to be Made All Naked:' Cadaver Tombs and the Commemoration of Women in Fifteenth-Century England." *The Ricardian: Journal of the Richard III Society* 13 (2003): 294–314.

Kinney, Dale. "Ancient Gems in the Middle Ages: Riches and Ready-Mades." In *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from*

Constantine to Sherrie Levine, edited by Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney, 97–120. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.

Kittell, Ellen E. "Reconciliation or Punishment: Women, Community, and Malfaction in the Medieval County of Flanders." In *The Texture of Society: Medieval Women in the Southern Low Countries*, edited by Kittell and Mary A. Suydam, 3–30. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. "Women Servants in Florence during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." In *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, edited by Barbara Hannawalt, 56–80. (Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Knecht, R.J. *Catherine de Medici*. New York: Longman, 1998.

Koeppe, Wolfram. "Mysterious and Prized: Hardstones in Human History before the Renaissance." In *Art of the Royal Court: Treasures in Pietre Dure from the Palaces of Europe*, edited by Wolfram Koeepe and Anna Maria Giusti, 3–11. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.

Kogman-Appel, Katrin. "Portrayals of Women with Books: Female (Il)literacy in Medieval Jewish Culture." In *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*, edited by Therese Martin. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Kok, J. P. Filedt. *Rembrandt: Etchings and Drawings in the Rembrandt House, a Catalogue*. Maarsen: G. Schwartz, 1972.

Koslin, Desirée. "The Dress of Monastic and Religious Women as Seen in Art from the Early Middle Ages to the Reformation." Dissertation, New York University, 1999.

Kosut, Mary. "Queering Gender, Art and Culture in the Age of Media Convergence." In *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, edited by David Inglis, 335–45. Los Angeles; London: SAGE, 2016.

Kotkova, Olga. "The Feast of the Rose Garlands: What Remains of Dürer?" *The Burlington Magazine*, 144, 1186 (Jan., 2002): 4–13.

Kotkova, Olga. *Albrecht Dürer: The Feast of the Rose Garlands, 1506–2006*. Prague: National Gallery Prague, 2006.

Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Translated by Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Kurmann-Schwarz, B. "Gender and Medieval Art." In *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, 128–58. Malden, MA, 2006.

L'Hermite-Leclercq, Paulette. "The Feudal Order." Translated by Arthur Goldhammer, in *A History of Women in the West: Silences of the Middle Ages* II, edited by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, 202–249. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Lampert, Lisa. *Gender and Jewish Difference: From Paul to Shakespeare*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Langlois, Ernest, editor. *Le roman de la Rose*. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1924.

Langmuir, Gavin I. "Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder." *Speculum* 59 (1984): 820–846.

Larson, Wendy R. "Who is the Master of This Narrative: Maternal Patronage of the Cult of Saint Margaret." In *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, edited by Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, 94–104. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Lassner, Jacob. *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Lee, R.W., ed. *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1967.

Leeming, David. *Medusa: In the Mirror of Time*. London: Reaktion Books, 2013.

LeGoff, Jacques. *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages,* trans. Patricia Ranum. New York: Zone Books, 1988.

Lehrs, Max. *Geschichte und kritischer katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert,* vol. I. Vienna: Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst, 1908.

Leppin, Eberhard. *Die Elisabethkirche in Marburg an der Lahn*. Königstein: Langwiesche, 1999.

L'Estrange, Elizabeth. *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2008.

Levin, William R. "Advertising Charity in the Trecento: The Public Decorations of the Misericordia in Florence." *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996): 215–309.

Levy, Allison M. *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.

Levy-Navarro, Elena. *The Culture of Obesity in Early and Late Modernity: Body Image in Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, and Skelto*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2008.

Lewis, Flora. "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response." In *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, edited by Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor, 204–29. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Lindley, Mark. "Helene Fourment as St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals," *RIdIM-RCMI Newsletter* 15, no. 2 (1990): 13–20.

Lindquist, Sherry C.M. "Gender." *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 113–30.

Lindquist, Sherry C.M. "Visualizing Female Sexuality in Medieval Cultures." *Different Visions* 5 (2014): 1–24.

Lindquist, Sherry C.M. "The Iconography of Gender." In *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, edited by Colum Hourihane. London: Routledge, 2017.

Lipton, Sara. "Where are the Jewish Women?" in *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*. New York: Metropolitan Booksw, 2014.

Lipton, Sara. "The Vulgate of Experience – Preaching, Art, and the Material World." Annual Medieval Academy of America Lecture at the International Medieval Congress, July 7, 2015.

Lipton, Sara. *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of the Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisee*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Little, Lester. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Lochrie, Karma. *Heterosyncrasies: Female Sexuality When Normal Wasn't*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Lübbeke, Isolde. "Dürer's Visualization of an Imagined Community." In *Albrecht Dürer: The Feast of the Rose Garlands, 1506–2006* edited by Olga Kotkova, 15–32. Prague: National Gallery Prague, 2006.

Luttikhuisen, Henry and Larry Silver. "The Quality of Mercy: Representations of Charity in Early Netherlandish Art." *Studies in Iconography* (2008): 216–248.

Lutz, Heinrich. *Conrad Peutinger: Beiträge zu einer Politischen Biographie* Augsburg: De Brigg, 1958.

Lutz, Helma, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar, and Linda Supik. *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies* Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.

Mackenney, Richard. "The *scuole piccole* of Venice: Formations and Transformations." In *The Politics of Ritual Kinship, Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy, edited by* Nicholas Terpstra. Cambridge: Cambridge, Univ. Press, 2000.

Martens, Didier. "Dieric Bouts and His Iconography." In *Dieric Bouts: the Complete Works*, edited by Catheline Périer-d'Ieteren, 60–77. Brussels: Mercator Fonds, 2006.

Martin Thomas, Georg. *Capitolare Dei Visdomini Del Fontego Dei Todeschi in Venezia*. Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1974.

Martin, Andrew John. "Dan hat sich ain quarter befunden in vnserer Capeln, von der Hand des Albrecht Dürers. The Feast of the Rose Garlands in San Bartolomeo di Rialto (1506–1606)." In *Albrecht Dürer: The Feast of the Rose Garlands, 1506–2006,* edited by Olga Kotkova, 53–67. Prague: National Gallery Prague, 2006.

Martin, Andrew John. "Dürers Rosenkranzfest und eine Fuggergrablege mit einem Gemälde von Battista Franco in San Bartolomeo di Rialto." *Studia Rudolphina: Bulletin of the Research Center for visual Arts and Culture*, 6 (2006): 59–64.

Martin, Therese, ed. *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Matarasso, Pauline. *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2001.

McClanan, Anne L. and Karen Rosoff Encarnación. *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

McCracken, Peggy. *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

McCullough, John. "Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth." *Speculum* 72 (1997): 698–740.

McIver, Katherine A. *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage*. Farnham, Surrey, UK, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.

Meale, Carol M. "The Miracles of the Our Lady: Context and Interpretation." In *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, edited by Derek Pearsall. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1990.

Mellinkoff, Ruth. *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art from the Later Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Miller, Naomi J. and Naomi Yavneh, eds. *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.

Miller, Sarah Alison. "Monstrous Sexuality: Variations on the Vagina Dentata." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, edited by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle, 311–28. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.

Miller, Sarah Alison. *Medieval Monstrosity and the Female Body*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Mills, Robert. *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Mitchell, W.J.T. "Word and Image." In *Critical Terms for Art History*, edited by Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff, 47–57. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Mittman, Asa Simon. "Introduction: The Impact of Monsters and Monster Studies." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, edited by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle, 1–14. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.

Mollat, Michel. *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. New Haven and London: Yale Univeresity Press, 1978.

Möller, Lise Lotte. *Die wilden Leute des Mittelalters: Die wilden Leute des Mittelalters.* Ausstellung vom 6. September bis zum 30. Oktober. Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1963.

Molyneaux, Bryan Leigh ed. *The Cultural Life of Images: Visual Representation in Archaeology.* London: Routledge, 1997.

Montgomery, Scott R. "Mittite capud meum . . .. ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just." *Gesta* 36:1 (1997): 48–64.

Moore, R.I. *Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Moorman, John. *A History of the Franciscan Order*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Morrall, Andrew. "Dürer and Venice." In *The Essential Dürer* edited by Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps-Smith, 99–114. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Moseley-Christian, Michelle. "From Page to Print: the Transformation of the 'Wild Woman' in Early Modern Northern Engravings." *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* v. 27 no. 4 (2011): 429–42.

Mueller, Reinhold. *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt 1200—1500.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1997.

Muir, Eward. *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6–18.

Münz, Ludwig. *A Critical Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings.* London: Phaidon Press, 1952.

Musée du Louvre, Départment des sculptures. *Sculpture Française*. Vol. 2, *Renaissance et temps modernes.* Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996.

Mussafia, Adolfo. "Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden." *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, CXIII,* 917–994. 1886.

Muzzarelli, Maria et al, *Donne et lavoro nell'Italia medieval.* Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1991.

Naessens, Mariann. "Judicial Views of Women's Roles in Late Medieval Flanders." In *The Texture of Society: Medieval Women in the Southern Low Countries*, edited by Ellen E. Kittell and Mary A. Suydam, 51–78. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Nichols, Tom. "Secular Charity, Sacred Poverty: Picturing the Poor in Renaissance Venice." *Art History* 20 (2007): 139–169.

O'Rourke, Kevin and Jeffrey Williamson, "Did Vasco da Gama Matter for European Markets." *Economic History Review*, 62, 3 (2009): 655–684.

Oakes, Simon. "Hieronymo Thodesco and the Fondaco dei Tedeschi: a Reappraisal of the Documents and Sources Relating to a German Architect in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 72, 4: 479–469, 481.

Ogden, Daniel. *Perseus*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Oudendijk Pieterse, Frances van den. *Dürers Rosenkranzfest en de Ikonografie der Duitse Rozenkransgroepen van de xv. en het begin der xvi. Eeuw*. Amsterdam: De Spieghel, 1939.

Overbey, Karen E. "Postcolonial." In "Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms," special issue edited by Nina Rowe, *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 145–56.

Paglia, Vincenzo. *Storia dei Poveri in Occidente*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1994.

Panofsky, Erwin. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*. New York: Henry Abrams, 1992.

Pappa, Joseph. *Carnal Reading: Early Modern Language and Bodies*. Dissertation, Binghamton University, 2008.

Parsons, John Cami. "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150–1500." *In Medieval Queenship*, edited by John Cami Parsons, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Parsons, John Carmi and Bonnie Wheeler, eds. *Medieval Mothering*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1996.

Parsons, John Carmi. "Loved Him—Hated Her: Honour and Shame at the Medieval Court." In *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, edited by Jacqueline Murray, 279–98. New York: Garland, 1999.

Pasztor, Edith. "Esperienza di povertà al femminile in Italia tra XII e XIV secolo." In *Donne e sante: Studi sulla religiosità femminile nel Medio Evo by* Edith Pasztor Rome: Edizioni Studium, 2000.

Patton, Pamela Anne. "An Ethiopian-Headed Serpent in the Cantigas de Santa María: Sin, Sex, and Color in Late Medieval Castile." *Gesta* 55, no. 2 (2016): 213–38.

Pearson, Andrea G. *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe: Gender, Agency, Identity*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.

Pels, Andreas. *Gebruik en misbruik des toneels*. Amsterdam: Albert Magnus, 1681.

Pennington, Richard. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607–1677*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Pentcheva, Bissera. "The Performative Icon." *The Art Bulletin* 88:4 (December 2006): 631–655.

Periti, Giancarla. *In the Courts of Religious Ladies: Art, Vision, and Pleasure in Italian Renaissance Convents*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Perkinson, Stephen. *The Likeness of a King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Phillips, Kim M. "Written on the Body: Reading Rape from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century." In *Medieval Women and the Law*, edited by Noel James Menuge, 125–144. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000.

Pizan, Christine. *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Translated by Roslind Brown-Grant London: Penguin, 1999.

Poska, Allyson M., Jane Couchman and Katehrine A. McIver, eds. *Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016.

Prevenier, Walter. "Notions of Honor and Adultery in the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Netherlands." In *Comparative Perspectives on History and Historians: Essays in Memory of Bruce Lyon (1920–2007)*, edited by David Nichols and James Murray, 259–78. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2012.

Pullan, Brian. *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1994.

Randall, Lillian. *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

Ravid, Benjamin. "The Legal Status of Jews in Venice to 1509." *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 54 (1987): 169–202.

Reinhardt, Hans. *Der Basler Münsterschatz: Katalog der Ausstellung in der Barfüsserkirche zu Basel, September-Oktober 1956*. Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1956.

Reznicek, E. K. J. "Opmerkingen bij Rembrandt." *Oud Holland* 91, no. 1/2 (1977): 92–94.

Ricci, Giovanni. *Povertà, vergogna, superbia: I declasati tra medioevo e età moderna*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*. Edited by George A. Taylor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Riddle, John M. *Marbode of Rennes' 'de Lapidus': Considered as a Medical Treatise with Text, Commentary, and C. W. King's Translation*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977.

Riegler, Michael and Judith Baskin, "'May the Writer Be Strong': Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts Copied by and for Women." *Nashim* 16 (2008): 9–28.

Robertson, Elizabeth. "Measurement and the 'Feminine' in Piets Plowman: A Response to Recent Studies of Langland and Gender." In *William Langland's Piers Plowman: A Book of Essays* edited by Kathleen M. Hewett-Smith. London: Routledge, 200.

Robson, Janet. "Judas and the Franciscans: Perfidy Pictured in Lorenzetti's Passion Cycle at Assisi." *Art Bulletin* 86 (March 2004): 31-57.

Roll, Johannes. "'Do we affect fashion in the grave?': Italian and Spanish Tomb Sculptures and the Pose of the Dreamer." In *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* edited by Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson, 154–164. London: British Museum Press, 1998.

Romano, Dennis. "Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice." *Journal of Social History*, 23, 2 (Winter, 1989): 339–353.

Rose, Emily. *The Cult of William of Norwich and the Accusation of Ritual Murder in Anglo-Norman England*. Dissertation Princeton University, 2001.

Rose, Emily. *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origin of the Blood Libel in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Jews in England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941.

Roth, Cecil. *The Intellectual Activities of the Medieval English Jewry*. London: The British Academy, 1948.

Roth, Cecil. *The Jews of Medieval Oxford*. Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1950.

Rothstein, Bret. "Looking the Part: Ruminative Viewing and the Imagination of Community in the Early Modern Netherlands." *Art History* 31, no. 1 (2008): 1–32.

Roush, Sherry and Cristelle Louise Baskins. *The Medieval Marriage Scene: Prudence, Passion, Policy*. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005.

Rowe, Nina. "Other." *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 131–44.

Rowe, Nina. *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Royalton-Kisch, Martin. *Rembrandt the Printmaker*. London: British Museum Press, 2000.

Rubin, Miri *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Rubin, Miri, ed. *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2015.

Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman. "Pictorial and Verbal Play in the Margins: The Case of British Library, Stowe MS 49." In *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters. Essays in Honor of Janet Backhouse,* edited by Michelle P. Brown and Scott McKendrick. London: British Library, 1998.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman. *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*. London: Harvery Miller, 1986.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman. *The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2004.

Sandnes, Karl Olav. *Belly and Body in the Pauline Epistles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Sanford, Eva Matthews. "Honorius and the Wheel of Fortune." *Classical Philology* 42:4 (October 1947): 251–252.

Sarma Hegde, Radha. *Circuits of Visibility: Gender and Transnational Media Cultures*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.

Sayer, Duncan and Sam D. Dickerson. "Reconsidering Obstetric Death and Female Fertility in Anglo-Saxon England." *World Archeology* 45/2 (2013): 285–97.

Scallen, Catherine. "Rembrandt, Emulation and the Northern Print Tradition." *In Detail: New Studies of Northern Renaissance Art in Honor of Walter S. Gibson* edited by Laurinda S. Dixon. Belgium: Brepols, 1998.

Schaff, Philip, ed. *Nicene and Post-nicene Fathers First Series, St. Chrysostom: Homilies of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans*. New York: Cosimo Classica, 2007.

Schama, Simon. *Rembrandt's Eyes*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Schaus, Margaret. *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.

Schmitter, Monika. "Virtuous Riches: The Bricolage of Cittadini Identities in Early- Sixteenth-Century Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57, 3 (Autumn, 2004): 908-969.

Schofield, Roger. "Did the Mothers Really Die? Three Centuries of Maternal Morality in 'The World We Have Lost.'" In *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure: Essays Presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith, and Keith Wrightson, 231–60. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

Schott, Elizabeth Ann. "Representing the Body in the Seventeenth-century Netherlands: Rembrandt's Nudes Reconsidered. Dissertation University of California, Berkeley, 2000.

Schreckenberg, Heinz. *The Jews in Christian Art*. New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1996.

Schultz, James. *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Scott, Kathleen L. *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996.

Seidel, Linda. "Nudity as Natural Garment." In *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, edited by Sherry Lindquist. Surrey, U.K.: Ashgate Press, 2012.

Shalev Eyni, Sarit. "Purity and Impurity: The Naked Woman Bathing in Jewish and Christian Art." In *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, edited by Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009.

Shalev Eyni, Sarit. "The Bared Breast in Medieval Ashkenazi Illumination: Cultural Connotations in a Heterogeneous Society." *Different Visions* 5 (2014): 1–39.

Shaw, Teresa M. "Vegetarianism, Heresy, and Asceticism in Late Ancient Christianity." *Eating and Believing: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Vegetarianism and Theology*, edited by David Grumett and Rachel Muers. London: T&T Clark, 2008.

Silvestris, Bernardis. *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's 'Aeneid'*. Translated by Earl. G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

Simons, Patricia. *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Simonsfeld. Henry. *Der Fondaco Dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die Deutsch-Venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen*. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'Schen, 1887.

Skinner, Patricia. "Gender and Poverty in the Medieval Community." In *Medieval Women in Their Communities*, edited by Diane Watt, 204–221. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Slive, Seymour. *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630–1730*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1953.

Sluijter, Eric Jan. "The Nude, the Artist and the Model: The Case of Rembrandt." *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Karolien de Clippel, Katharina van Cauteren, Katlijne Van der Stighelen, eds. Tunhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011.

Sluijter, Eric Jan. *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Smith, David R. *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982.

Smith, Kathryn A. "The Destruction of Jerusalem Miniatures in the Neville of Hornby Hours and Their Visual, Literary, and Devotional Contexts." *Journal of Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/1998): 179–202.

Smith, Kathryn A. and Scott Wells, *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe Gender, Power, Patronage, and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009.

Smith, Kathryn A. *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours*. London: The British Library Publications, 2003.

Smith, Susan L. *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.

Smolak, Kurt. "Ovid im 13. Jahrhundert: Zwischen Ablehnung und Bewunderung." In *The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Proceedings of the First European Science Foundation Workshop on 'The Reception of Classical Texts,'"* edited by Claudio Leonardi et al., 111–122. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1995.

Snijder, G. A. S. "Antique and Mediaeval Gems on Bookcovers at Utrecht." *The Art Bulletin* 14:1 (March 1932): 4–53.

Soskice, Janet Martin. "Sight and Vision in Medieval Christian Thought." In *Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight*, edited by Teresa Brennan and Martin Jay, 31–43. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Southern, R.W. "The English Origins of the 'Miracles of the Virgin'." *Medieaval and Renaissance Studies*. Volume IV. (1958): 177.

Spellman, Mary Alice. *Rembrandt's Humor: Scatology, Satire, Burlesque, and Irony in Six Etchings*. Dissertation University of Kansas, 2006.

Sperling, Jutta Gisela. *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations: Images, Rhetorics, Practices*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013.

Spier, Jeffrey. "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and their Tradition." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993): 25–62.

Spinks, Jennifer. *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 66–111. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Stacey, Robert C. "From Ritual Crucifixion to Host Desecration: Jews and the Body of Christ." *Jewish History* 12 (1998): 11–28.

Stacey, Robert C. "Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century England: Some Dynamics of a Changing Relationship." in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, edited by M. A. Signer and J. Van Engen, 340–354. South Bend, Notre Dame University Press, 2001.

Stacey, Robert C. "The Conversion of the Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England." *Speculum* 67 (1992): 263–283.

Stark, Judith Chelius, ed. *Feminist Interpretations of Augustine*. University Park Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Starkey, Kathryn. *A Courtier's Mirror: Cultivating Elite Identity in Thomasin von Zerclaere's* Welscher Gast. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 2013.

Steel, Karl. *How to Make a Human*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2011.

Stichele, Caroline Vander and Todd Penner. *Contextualizing Gender in Early Christian Discourse: Thinking Beyond Thecla*. London: T&T Clark International, 2009.

Stock, Brian. *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Strauss, Walter L. and Marjon van der Meulen. *The Rembrandt Documents*. New York: Abaris Books, Inc., 1979.

Strickland, Debra Higgs. *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Stroo, Cyril and Pascale Syfer-d'Olne. *Flemish Primitives II: The Dirk Bouts, Petrus Christus, Hans Memling, and Hugo van der Goes Groups.* Brussels: Brepols, 1999.

Stukator, Angela. "It's not over until the fat lady sings" "Comedy, the Carnivalesque, and Body Politics." In *Bodies Out of Bounds: Fatness and Transgression* edited by Katherine Le Besco and Jana Evans Braziel, 197–213. Berkeley: University of California, 2001.

Sullivan, Margaret. "Madness and Folly: Bruegel the Elder's Dulle Griet." *Art Bulletin* v. 59 no. 1 (1977): 59–6.

Sütterlin, Christa. "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism: A Behavioral and Comparative Approach to Some Medieval Sculptures." *Leonardo* 22:1 (1989): 65–74.

Tafuri, Manfredo. *Venice and the Renaissance.* Translated by Jessica Levine. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995.

Taylor, Andrew. *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Taylor, Craig. "The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages." *French Historical Studies* 29/4 (Fall 2006): 543–64.

The Good Wife's Guide: Le Ménagier de Paris, A Medieval Household Book. Translated Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Thomas Aquinas. *De Veritate.* Translated by Robert W. Mulligan, James V. McGlynn and Robert William Schmidt, in *Truth,* 3 vols. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 1994.

Thompson, John Lee. *John Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in Regular and Exceptional Roles in the Exegesis of Calvin.* 1992.

Thompson, Krista. "The Sound of Light: Reflections on Art History in the Visual Culture of Hip-Hop." *Art Bulletin* 91 (2009) 481–505.

Tinagli, Paola. *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, and Identity.* Manchester; New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Todeschini, Giacomo. *Il prezzo della salvezza: lessici medievali del pensiero economico.* Rome: Studi Superiori NIS, 1994.

Tomasch, Sylvia. "Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew." In *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen , 243–260. New York: Palgrave Press 2000.

Traub, Valerie. "Mapping the Global Body." In *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, Empire in Renaissance England*, edited by Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse, 44–97. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Trexler, Richard. "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes." In *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper*

Classes in History, edited by Frederic Cople Jaher, 64–109. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Tuten, Belle. "Women and Ordeals." In *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture*, edited by Warren C. Brown and Piotr Górecki, 163–74. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003.

Uitz, Erika. *The Legend of Good Women: Medieval Women in Towns and Cities*. Translated by Sheila Marnie. Mt Kisco, NY: Moyer Bell, 1990.

Ullman, Walter. "Medieval Principles of Evidence." *Law Quarterly Review* 62 (1946): 77–88.

Van Caenegem, R.C. *Legal History: A European Perspective*. London: Hambledon Press, 1991.

Velden, Hugo van der. "Cambyses, for Example: The Origins and Functions of an *Exemplum Iustitiae* in Netherlandish Art of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries." *Simiolus* 23, no. 1 (1995): 5–39.

Verhaegen, Nicole. "La Justice d'Othon de Thierry Bouts: Iconographie." *Bulletin de l'Institut Royale du Patrimonie Artistique* 1 (1958): 22–30.

Vikan, Gary. "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984): 65–86.

Voaden, Rosalynn and Diane Wolfthal. *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005.

Vooys, C.G.N de. *Middelnederlandse Stichtelijke Exempelen*. Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1953.

Vos, Dirk de. *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999.

Vreese, Willem de. *De Handschriften van Jan van Ruusbroec's Werken*. Ghent: Siffer, 1900.

Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*. New York: Abaris Books, Inc., 1979.

Warner, Marina. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Warr, Cordelia. "The Striped Mantle of the Poor Clares: Image and Text in the Later Middle Ages." *Arte Cristiana* 86 (1998): 415–430.

Wellman, Kathleen. *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Wentzel, Hans. "Mittelalterliche Gemmen am Oberrhein." *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 (1941): 45–98.

Wheelock, Arthur K. Jr., "The Influence of Lucas van Leyden on Rembrandt's Narrative Etchings." *Essays in Northern European Art: Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday*. The Netherlands: Davaco, 1983.

Whitbread, L. G. "Introduction." *Fulgentius the Mythographer*. Translated and edited by L G. Whitbread. Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1971.

White, Christopher and Karel G. Boon, *Rembrandt's Etchings: An Illustrated Critical Catalogue*. New York: Abner Schram, 1969.

White, Christopher. *Rembrandt as an Etcher*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1969.

White, Hayden. "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea." Edward J. Dudley in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought From the Renaissance to Romanticism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1973.

Wiesner, Merry E., ed. *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*. London and Paris: Routledge, 2016.

Williams, Julia Lloyd, ed., *Rembrandt's Women*. Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2001.

Willmott Dobbie, B.M. "An Attempt to Estimate the True Rate of Maternal Mortality, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries." *Medical History* 26 (1982): 79–90.

Wilson, Evelyn Faye. *The Stella Maris of John of Garland*. Wellesley: The Medieval Academy of America, 1946.

Winston-Allen, Ann. *Stories of the Rose. The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*. Penn State Univ. Press, 2nd Printing, 1988.

Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn. "Chaste bodies: frames and experiences." In *Framing Medieval Bodies*, edited by Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, 24–42. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Wolff, Janet. "Art as Ideology." in *The Social Production of Art*. 2nd edition. New York, 1993.

Wolff, Martha, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch* v. 23. New York: Abaris Books, 1985.

Wolff, Martha. "Manuscript Sources for the Playing-Card Master's Number Cards." *Art Bulletin,* v. 64 no. 4 (1982).

Wolfthal, Diane. *Images of Rape: the "Heroic" Tradition and its Alternatives* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wolfthal, Diane. *In and Out of the Marital Bed: Seeing Sex in Renaissance Europe* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Wrigley, E. A. "Births and Baptisms: The Use of Anglican Parish Registers as a Source of Information for the Numbers of Births in England before the Beginning of Civil Registration." *Population Studies* 31/2 (July 1977): 281–312.

Young, Arthur Milton. *Legend Builders of the West*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1958.

Zemon Davis, Natalie. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. Stanford: Univ. of California Press, 1975.

Zerner, Henri. *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*. Paris: Flammarion, 2003.

Ziegler, Vickie. *Trial by Fire and Battle in Medieval German Literature*. Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2004.

Zimmerman, Reinhard and Simon Whittaker, Good Faith in European Contract Law: Surveying the Legal Landscape." In *Good Faith in European Contract Law*, edited by Reinhard Zimmerman and Simon Whittaker, 7–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Index

C.A. Bradbury and M. Moseley-Christian (eds.), *Gender, Otherness, and Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, The New Middle Ages,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-65049-4